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**FROM THE FUND OF
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND DIARY

OF

MR JAMES MELVILL.

M.D.LVI.—M.DC.X.

VOL. I.

THE WODROW SOCIETY,

INSTITUTED MAY, 1841,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY
WRITERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Publications, 1.

THE
AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND DIARY

OF
Melville
MR JAMES MELVILL,

MINISTER OF KILRENNY, IN FIFE, AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY
 IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS.

WITH A
CONTINUATION OF THE DIARY.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARIES OF THE FACULTY
 OF ADVOCATES AND UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

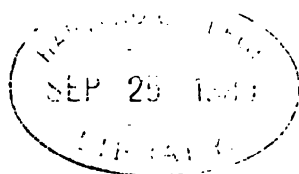
BY
ROBERT PITCAIRN, ESQ.
 F.S.A. SCOT.

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PREFATORY NOTICE.

I. THE AUTHOR'S BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

MR JAMES MELVILL, MELVYNE, or MELVIN, (in which latter form the family name was generally known, both in Scotland and in foreign countries¹ at the period when our Author flourished,) was one of the sons of Richard Melvill of Baldowy or Baldovy, Minister of the parish of Marytoun, near Montrose, in the presbytery of Brechin, by his spouse Isabell Scrymgeour, sister to the Laird of Glasswell. The Melvills of Baldowy were then a respectable family, and near cadets of Melvill of Raith, who was considered to be the chief of a rather powerful and influential name in the county of Fife. Melvill of Dysart, however, was acknowledged by Mr Andrew Melvill to have been the chief of the Baldovy branch

¹ In all the interesting correspondence which took place between our Author and his celebrated uncle, which is in Latin, (*Melvini Epistolæ*, MS. in Adv. Lib.) the name is uniformly written "Melvinus." It may also be remarked, that in Fifeshire the name is still vulgarly pronounced "Melvin," and at an earlier period it was frequently pronounced and written "Melin," "Mëlin," and "Melling."

of the family.¹ The Author states, in his Autobiography, that he was born on the 26th day of July 1556, but at the same time quaintly remarks, "my uncle, Mr Andro, haulds that I was born *in anno* 1557."²

Of the early life, education, and pursuits of Mr James Melvill, a simple but lively and unaffected narrative has been preserved by himself in his Autobiography, in which will be found many curious and important particulars as to the state of classical and theological education in Scotland in his younger days, and more especially in the Universities of St Andrews and Glasgow. He has also, in the commencement of his work, recorded much interesting information as to the early introduction of the Greek and Hebrew languages into Scotland, and the methodical study of Oriental Languages as a regular branch of theological education in these Universities, at a period when it has generally been considered that too little attention was paid to these departments of learning. It may perhaps not be unworthy of a cursory notice in this place, that it likewise appears from this work, that at St Andrews and elsewhere, at and before the middle and close of the sixteenth century, not only was the mind assiduously cultivated by the study of theology, philosophy, mathematics, the classics, and other kindred branches of a polite education, in a manner hardly to be surpassed in the present day, but the bodily faculties were strengthened and developed by the regular practice of archery, fencing, running, leaping, wrestling, swimming, and other athletic and manly exercises and sports, in regard to which many amusing instances are alluded to or enlarged on by our Author. The enquirer into the manners, customs,

¹ M'Crie's Melvill, i. 409.

² See Diary, p. 13.

and superstitions of our countrymen, at this period, will also find numerous passages of considerable interest and curiosity.

It would be equally unnecessary and out of place to attempt a recapitulation of what is so forcibly and graphically narrated by the Author on these subjects ; but it may here be briefly noticed, that through the kindness of Principal Lee, the Editor is now enabled from his notes (which have been most obligingly communicated at a time when busily engaged in important public avocations) to throw some additional light on the exact dates of Mr James Melvill's matriculation at St Andrews, and the period of his laureation as a Master of Arts.

As has been recorded by himself, Mr James Melvill got the rudiments of his education at Logie and Montrose ; and in his Diary, he states that he was entered as a student at St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in 1571. In this latter instance, however, it would appear that he had quoted from memory, at an advanced period of his life, as the Very Rev. Principal Lee has politely communicated to the Editor, from his notes of matriculations, &c., that our Author was enrolled so early as 1569, (" JACOBUS MELWAL,")¹ when in his fourteenth year. From the same authentic source it is gratifying to state, that the accuracy of the previous entry in the matriculation books of St Andrews is amply proved by the following, in the list of Bachelors of Arts who were admitted on the 9th day of February 1572, " JAMES MELVYN ;" which exactly corresponds with the earliest period at which he could have been admitted to this degree by the statutes of that University. It is possible that Melvill may have taken his degree of Master of Arts either at Glas-

¹ His name is so inscribed in the original Register.

gow or subsequent to his return to St Andrews ; but the period of his laureation is uncertain, from the imperfection of the lists, about that period, both at Glasgow and St Andrews.

The Editor trusts that the Members of the Wodrow Society, as well as the Church and public, will cordially join him in the wish that the Very Rev. and learned Principal, to whose notes the Society is indebted for this information, may still be prevailed on to favour the world with his long projected work on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Scotland, at no very distant date. It is universally acknowledged that no one is better qualified for undertaking so important a task ; and a large number of his friends are well aware that during the last thirty years he has amassed a most valuable store of materials, at immense personal labour and considerable expense, and that he has ever been willing most liberally to afford his advice, and to communicate information to others engaged in kindred pursuits. Already have the pages of many of our authors been enriched from these stores, and it is to be hoped that sufficient leisure may still be afforded him for completing so very desirable a work.

II. PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF GLASGOW AND ST ANDREWS.

On Mr Andrew Melvill being appointed Principal of the University of Glasgow, our Author, his nephew, was invited by him to accompany him thither ; and, we are informed by Mr James Melvill, that at the early age of nineteen, he began, as a Regent, about Michaelmas 1575, to instruct his class in Greek, Logic, and Rhetoric ; and, in the following year, he taught them Mathe-

matics and Natural Philosophy. Dr M'Crie records that "he was the first Regent in Scotland who read the Greek authors to his class in the original language,"¹ in which both he and his uncle were great proficient.

In the year 1580, after his uncle had returned to his charge as Principal of St Andrews, our Author was appointed Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the same University, and was soon afterwards invited to be Minister of Stirling, which offer, however, he declined to accept.

III. HIS FIRST MARRIAGE, AND HIS CONDUCT AS A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

On the 1st day of May 1583, Mr James Melvill married Elizabeth, daughter of his friend and patron, Mr John Dury, Minister of Edinburgh,² afterwards of Montrose, by Marion Marjoribanks, who is understood to have been daughter of Sir John Marjoribanks, Provost of Edinburgh.

Having preached his first sermon at the early age of eighteen,³ the increasing expenses of his family induced him, in the autumn of 1586, to accept of a call from the parish of *Anstruther-Wester*; and he was soon afterwards admitted by the presbytery to that charge. From the Registers of that parish the following entry occurs: "1586, 22 day [of] Oct., being Sondag, Mr James Melvill, our ministair, now began and ministered the sacrament of baptisme, as after followes, in Anstruther," &c. &c.⁴ Mr Robert

¹ M'Crie's Life of Melvill, i. 74.

² He had been transported to that important charge from Leith.

³ At "the Exercise." Diary, p. 50.

⁴ Register

of Births, &c. of the parish of Anstruther-Wester.

Wood, who had been appointed minister of the parish of Kennoway, December 4, 1582, was his predecessor, and held the office from the year 1584; and from the manner in which the Author speaks of him in his Introduction,¹ it would seem that he was far from being acceptable to the people.

It would appear that on the death of Mr William Clark, in February 1583,² who had been burdened with the care of the three parishes of Pittenweem, Abercrombie, and Kilrenny, Wood got a presentation to the whole from the Archbishop of St Andrews, (Adamson;) and on his removal, Mr James Melvill entered on the same extensive and laborious charge. Greatly to his honour, and to the credit of his religious profession, our Author, in place of attempting the arduous task of performing the duty of minister to four large parishes, immediately used all his influence and exertions to get separate ministers appointed to each. In this he finally succeeded, and, despising the mere motive of pecuniary aggrandisement, he then betook himself seriously to the discharge of his ministerial duties in the parish of Kilrenny, to which, in October 1590, he was enabled exclusively to restrict himself. The manner in which he effected this is beautifully and simply narrated in his Introduction.

The charge of *Anstruther-Wester* he resigned in favour of his friend, Mr Robert Dury,³ in 1588. That distinguished man was banished by King James VI. in 1606, and died at Leyden in 1616.

¹ Diary, p. 4.

² Register of Presentations to Benefices, ii. 133.

³ It is probable that he was his brother-in-law, but the Editor has not been able to satisfy himself of this on proper evidence. He married Elizabeth Ramsay. Mr Andrew Melvill was witness to the baptism of his son and daughter, Andrew and Margaret, in 1605 and 1607. Session Record of Anstruther.

The charge of *Pittenweem* was committed to Mr Nicol Dalgleish, who, on 3d November 1603, got Mr Roger Melvill appointed as helper to him. In April 1613, Mr John Durie succeeded to the cure of souls in this parish; and on his translation to the parish of Logie in 1614, the parish remained vacant until 1617, when our Author's eldest son, Mr Ephraim Melvill, who was translated thither from Newburn, was appointed. On his death, in 1629, Mr John Melvill succeeded. He conformed to Presbytery in 1638, and died in 1649. The succession of ministers in this parish has been noted, in consequence of one, and perhaps two, of the sons of our Author having been included in the number of its ministers.

The charge of *Abercrombie* was, in 1593, considerably after the resignation of Mr James Melvill, bestowed on Mr Alexander Forsyth, who went to England in 1604. It may be remarked, in reference to this subject, that in the year 1646, the parish of Abercrombie had the town and lands of St Monance united to it. These were ecclesiastically dismembered from that of Kilconquhar; but as the Kirk of St Monance was "most capable to containe the whole parish, and because the grytest number of the parishioners duell neerest to that kirk, and for other reasons contained in the supplication given in to the Presbyterie for that effect," Divine worship was ordained to be performed therein for the future.¹

The charge undertaken by Mr James Melvill, as minister of *Kilrenny*, in which he continued from the period of his admission until he was called to England by order of the King, was most

¹ Ecclesiastical Records of the Synod of Fife, 1611-1687, p. 201, presented to the Abbotsford Club by Charles Baxter, Esq. as his private contribution.

faithfully and zealously discharged by him ; and when the duties of his professorship and the increasing wants of the parish demanded further assistance in that important duty, he got his dear friend, Mr John Dykes, admitted as his " fellow laborer," or colleague, in 1596. Mr John Dykes, however, was translated to the parish of Newburn in October 1604 ; but, on the invitation of the parish, he returned to Kilrenny in 1614, shortly after Mr James Melvill's death. He died in 1634. It may be mentioned generally, that there was another Minister of the same name flourishing at the same time, probably a near relation, who was appointed as the first Minister of Culross in 1567. He was confined by order of James VI. in 1607. This individual seemed to have been a considerable pluralist, as he also held the large and important parishes of Tulliallan and Clackmannan, being assisted in the former by Walter Myllar, " Exhortar," and, in the latter, by Robert Maxwell, " Reidare," in these charges. If this Mr John Dykes was the same individual who was so intimately associated in the bonds of friendship and of the holy ministry with Mr James Melvill, he must have been a Minister above forty years, and, consequently, advanced in life when confined by order of the King in 1607 ; and if he lived to the year 1641, when, so far as the Editor has been enabled to discover, it is believed he died, he must then have been above ninety-four years of age. The Editor, however, is convinced, from the circumstance of the plurality of livings held by him, and the discrepancy of the periods of the death of the incumbents of these parishes, that they must have been different individuals.¹

¹ See Records of the Synod of Fife, pp. 206, 210, 236.

It is not a little complimentary to the popular talents of our Author, that we have it to relate that his separation from his parish of Anstruther was deplored by his people as a subject to them of deep and lasting regret; and had he left so affectionate and attached a body of parishioners merely for pecuniary gain or personal aggrandisement, such an expression must have been not only extremely affecting, but must have afforded cause for bitter remorse. The Kirk-Session of Anstruther-Wester thus forcibly record their regret:—"Mr James Melvill took his guid nycht from this congregatioun the said moneth of October 1590 yeiris, and took him to Kylrynn timer to be thair minister. God forgif him that did sa! for I know and saw him promes that he suld never laif ws for any vardin¹ respect, sa lang [as] he lyvit, except he var forsait be the Kirk and his Majestie; bot, nevir being forsait aither be Kirk or his Majestie, leift ws."² It may be noticed, that the contiguous town of Anstruther-Easter was then annexed to the parish of Kilrenny, and all the three parishes are situated within a short distance from each other.

The various steps which led to the final endowment and establishment of four ministers in these four populous parishes, by the extraordinary exertions of one conscientious minister, in whose person the whole had been originally united, through the pernicious system of pluralities then so prevalent in Scotland—and that within the almost incredibly short space of three years—are related by our Author in his own simple and forcible manner, and are well worthy of admiration. They afford a very striking instance of what may be

¹ Worldly.

² Kirk-session Records of Anstruther-Wester, October 6, 1590.

achieved by the untiring, conscientious perseverance and energetic application of the mind and influence of one good man, having only before his eyes the glory of God and the eternal interests of his fellow Christians.

IV. HIS PUBLIC LIFE.

The personal history of the Author, and his proceedings in the public affairs in which the Church was involved during the eventful period which followed, are so fully narrated in his Autobiography, and in the Continuation of his Diary, and are so much connected with the History of Scotland, that it is only necessary here to advert generally to his work itself. The noble stand which he made, in common with his uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill, and the other Ministers who accompanied him to England, in a situation of singular difficulty and delicacy, where their religious liberty and that of the Church, with which they so completely identified themselves, was so much at stake, is one which has exercised the pens, and called forth the commendation of our best Ecclesiastical historians.¹ The leading circumstances connected with this remarkable passage of British History are detailed with admirable precision and candour by our Author.

The particulars relating to the oppressive and cruel detention of the Ministers in London, from their families and flocks, the confinement of Mr Andrew Melvill in the Tower of London, and the banishment of our Author as a prisoner at large to Newcastle and Berwick, with his active and zealous professional employment

¹ See especially Calderwood's Church History, M'Crie's Life of Melvill, &c.

while there, are all detailed with touching simplicity and fidelity, which, indeed, are highly characteristic of the whole of this most valuable contribution to the History of the Church of Scotland, and they stamp on it the indelible impress of truth.

V. HIS SECOND MARRIAGE.—HIS BANISHMENT AND RESIDENCE
AT NEWCASTLE AND BERWICK.

During his residence at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Author lost his affectionate wife, Elizabeth Dury, who had, for so long a period, been his faithful companion and friend, and the fond partaker with him in all his toils and troubles. The date of her death cannot now be exactly ascertained, but it is supposed to have occurred between the years 1609 and 1610. After a most diligent search of all the Registers and Vestry books of the parishes of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Gateshead, as well as of the town of Berwick-on-Tweed, (for which the Society is indebted to the zeal and kindness of Thomas Bell, Esq., and J. Bailey Langhorne, Esq. of Newcastle, and of Robert Weddell, Esq., of Berwick,) no entry has been found of the death or burial of Mrs Melvill.

It appears, however, from the interesting correspondence above alluded to, which took place between the Author and his uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill,¹ that Mr James Melvill remained above two years a widower; and that previous to July, 1612, he was united in marriage to Debora Clerke, daughter of the then deceased Richard Clerke, A.B., Vicar of Berwick-on-Tweed. No entry occurs in the Parish Registers of Berwick; and until now it was

¹ Melvini Epistolæ, MS. in Adv. Lib. It may be remarked that this valuable collection formerly belonged to Mr James Melvill, and is partly in his own hand-writing.

merely known, or rather reported, that our Author married a young girl of nineteen years of age, who was believed to have been the daughter of a deceased Vicar of Berwick. Through the persevering activity of Robert Weddell, Esq., of Berwick, a note of the succession of Vicars in that town was procured, and the conclusion drawn, that the Author's second wife was likely to have been the daughter of Richard Clerke.¹

The name of Clerke was a common name in Berwick, from the reign of Henry VIII. downwards. Richard Clerke, probably a near relation, perhaps the grandfather of the Author's second wife, in a deed dated 15th October 1594, is called "Richard Clarke, preacher of God's Word in Berwick." It relates to a property in Berwick belonging to the Gardiner family; one of whom, George, was Dean of Norwich, (Wood's Ath. Oxon.) The only other notice of Richard is, that he "lived in the Churchyard!"

After much trouble, and a prolonged but fruitless search, which was instituted by the editor into the Books of the Commissariats of St Andrews and Edinburgh, he at length applied to his friend Mr Weddell, in the hope that Mr James Melvill's Will might have been proved at Durham, York, or some of the Ecclesiastical Courts in the northern or middle districts of England; and that gentleman at length succeeded in tracing the interesting document forming No. I. of the Appendix to this Prefatory

¹ Thomas Clerke was Vicar of Berwick 18th December 1567, and died before 26th February 1589, when we find Richard Clerke, A.B. in that living. On 22d July 1607, William Selbye, A.M. was Vicar, and resigned the same year. He was succeeded by Leo. Rountree, who also resigned in 1610, and was succeeded by Richard Smith, who died in 1613. Gilbert Durie was Vicar from that time till about 1660. It is not unlikely that he was connected with Mr James Melvill's family.

Notice, in the Registry of the Consistory Court at Durham. The Will of Mr James Melvill settled the point most satisfactorily, so far as concerns the Christian and family name of his second wife, which had previously been so very doubtful.

Previous to this marriage taking place, a very serious remonstrance had been addressed to the Author by his uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill, to whom the courtship had been revealed, both on account of the unsuitableness of her age, and from the circumstance of a long-formed friendship, which Mr Andrew concluded to have subsisted between his nephew and the widow lady with whom Mr James had lodged at Newcastle, and whom Mr Andrew most anxiously pressed him to marry. Mr James, however, persisted in maintaining the inexpediency of becoming united to the excellent and respectable widow alluded to by him in his Diary;¹ and, ultimately, Mr Andrew yielded the point to his nephew. In the whole of this protracted correspondence, an abstract of which has been ably and humorously given by Dr M'Crie,² and even to the conclusion of that collection,³ embracing a period before and after his second marriage, the name uniformly given by Mr Andrew to his niece was MELISSA,⁴ which led to the conclusion that such was indeed her Christian name, until the discovery of the Author's Will.

There is now no evidence to prove that there was any issue of our Author's second marriage—at least no traces of such are to be

¹ "Whose sone-in-law," (says our Author, Diary, p. 172,) "guidman of the house, was lyand seik of manie deadlie wounds giffen him be the Scottes theives on the Boddar." ² M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melvill, ii. pp. 364-375. ³ Melvini Epistolæ, *passim*.

⁴ She is frequently termed by Mr Andrew Melvill, in his letters, "melitissima Melissa," which Dr M'Crie has happily translated "the bonied Melissa."

found in the Will, nor in the Account of his Death-bed, which is sufficiently minute in many similar particulars; neither do the parish Records bear any entries of the birth of children after the date of that marriage. On the contrary, there is every reason to conclude there were none.

VI. IS OFFERED A BISHOPRIC.—HIS CONDUCT WHEN IN FAVOUR
AT COURT, &c.

It is recorded by Calderwood in his Ecclesiastical History,¹ that in the month of October 1607, Sir John Anstruther² was sent by the King to Newcastle, with the offer of a bishopric to Mr James Melvill, at a period when the Court seems to have calculated that it was not unlikely that Melvill might be inclined to purchase his liberty at the expense of his integrity, and the consistency of his religious principles. This offer, however, he unhesitatingly rejected; and he preferred to remain in obscurity and captivity in the North of England, rather than compromise his deliberate opinion as to Church government, and the form of religion which he had conscientiously embraced, and maintained at so great a cost, by the acceptance of an office of such dignity and emolument in his native country. This is no more than might reasonably have been expected of a man of such inflexible integrity.

In the course of his Autobiography, it is clearly discoverable how great a favourite at Court Mr James Melvill was, at an early period of his professional career, and how easily he might have risen to

¹ Calderwood's History, in Adv. Lib. vii. 72, 2 B. M'Crie's Melvill, ii. 375.

² Calderwood's MS., in the British Museum, states this courtier's name to have been Sir William Anstruther.

the highest eminence and ecclesiastical preferment. Numerous passages are there to be found of the personal intimacy and friendship which subsisted between him and the King, and the great freedom and honesty with which he expressed his opinions before his Majesty. But when rigorous measures were adopted against his uncle, Mr Andrew, then Principal of the New College of St Andrews, in July 1602, and after Mr Andrew had been put in ward within the precincts of that University, our Author conducted himself with the utmost determination and courage. Dr M'Crie states, "that he attended the Assemblies of the Church at the risk of his life; and when confined by a lingering disease, he wrote thence from his sick-bed letters containing the freest advices, and the most powerful exhortations to constancy."¹ Some of these have been preserved in the present work, and show most forcibly how the utmost possible gentleness and meekness of temper and disposition, and the most indomitable courage, sometimes meet in the character of individual Christians, when aroused to action in times of trial and persecution.

Among other instances of this leading trait in the character of Mr James Melvill may be cited two remarkable anecdotes, which have fortunately been preserved. The first was connected with the proceedings of the General Assembly 1602. In the spirit of conciliation, and with a view to promote peace and harmony, our Author had in some cases made certain compliances, of which unhandsome advantage had been taken; while, on the other hand, he had generally rather shunned controversy, and often preferred to remain silent when action did not seem to him to be essentially

¹ M'Crie's Melvill, ii. 181.

necessary. This line of conduct was misconstrued by the enemies of the cause which he espoused, into constitutional timidity and vacillation of character. During that eventful time the King thought proper to send for him to his palace, with the view of talking him over, and counted on his being able to carry the measures which he then contemplated, through the influence and instrumentality of Mr James Melvill. As he came out of the King's cabinet, Mr William Row, minister of Strathmiglo, who had been waiting for access, overheard his Majesty saying to one of his attendants, "This is a good simple man. I have streaked cream in his mouth ! I'll warrant you he will procure a number of votes for me to-morrow." Row lost no time in communicating this to our Author ; who, having next day given his vote directly against the proposal of the Court, the King would not believe it, until the Clerk of the Assembly had called his name a second time.¹

The other instance is related by Calderwood. With the view of preventing the opposition of the Author to the Court measures which were about to be proposed at a meeting of the Synod of Fife, intimation was made to him that the King had placed one of his letters in the hands of the Lord Advocate, for the purpose of instituting a criminal prosecution against him. So little, however, did he regard this intimidating threat, that Sir Robert Murray, in reporting the proceedings of that Synod to the King, informed his Majesty that James Melvill had become more fiery than his uncle ! Calderwood thus closes his allusion to this matter : " At the time of the sitting of the Synod of Fife, in April 1604, Mr James Melvine, being assured that the King hated him worse than any Scot-

¹ Livingston's Characteristics, art. William Row.

ish man, because he crossed all his designes, and was a ringleader to others, answered to the informer, 'My resolution is this,

*Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,
Exarmaveris impotentis iram !*"¹

During his detention in England, many ineffectual attempts were made by his parish, Presbytery, and Synod, and by the General Assembly, by supplications presented to the King, petitioning for the return of our Author to his duties. The same, indeed, had been done on behalf of the other Ministers. Two instances may be quoted, beside those alluded to in the Diary, which are to be found in the Records of the Synod of Fife :

April 3, 1611. "Petitio Kilrynnne.—Anent the supplication giffen in be the parochinars of Kilrinnie for Mr James Melvill, thair Minister, that he may be restored to thame, my Lord Archbishop declared that he had written to the King's Majestie for that effect, but had not effectuate it. The Assemblie, as yet, requeistit his Lordship to insist."²

And in April 1612, "the parochinars of Kilmanie³ proponed thair suitt that his Majestie may be dealt with for granting libertie to Mr James Melvil, thair Minister, to returne to thame ; quhairin my Lord Archbishop sall travell."⁴

There is a passage in the history of Mr James Melvill which has hitherto been unknown, but it is well worthy of notice in this place. The Society is indebted to Principal Lee's notes for the informa-

¹ Calderwood's History, folio edit. p. 481.

² Records of Synod of Fife, p. 7.

³ There is no doubt this refers to his own parish of Kilrenny.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 50.

tion. It would appear that our Author, either for the recovery of his shattered health, or feeling an overwhelming anxiety to see his uncle Mr Andrew before he died, had made preparations to embark for France. With this view he applied to his nephew, Mr Andrew Balfour, one of the many individuals who were named after Mr Andrew Melvill. Mr Andrew Balfour was a son of his youngest sister, Barbara, who was married in 1575 to her cousin, Mr James Balfour, Minister at Guthrie. Mr Andrew became Minister at Kirknewton in the year 1613, to which living he was presented by Lord Balmerinoch in 1612, and ordained by the Archbishop of St Andrews. After his admission, there was a long litigation for the purpose of reducing the settlement, which was carried on at least as late as August 1615. Its issue, however, is not at present known, and is perhaps unimportant. In the Minutes of the Presbytery of Linlithgow, 7th July 1613, it is stated that Mr Andrew Balfour applied for leave of absence, because his uncle, "Mr James Melwin," had written to him to visit him in Berwick, as "he was purposed to pass to France shortly, that he might meet with him before his remuiffing from Berwick:"—"Quhilk being considered, licens was grantit to him upon that respect."

It would also appear from the above quotation that Mr James Melvill had contemplated a permanent residence abroad. His uncle had formerly held out the prospect of a respectable living from a Professor's chair at Sedan, or elsewhere abroad, if the state of public affairs in Scotland precluded the probability of his being speedily restored to his church and parish, and to the quiet enjoyment of his Theological Chair at St Andrews. Many of his persecuted brethren in the ministry had taken refuge in foreign coun-

tries, and laid the foundation of many a Protestant Church, where formerly Popery had reigned with undisputed sway. The increasing infirmities, and the death of our Author, within half a year after that proposal had been made, prevented the accomplishment of his wishes, in this respect. No traces are now to be found of Mr James Balfour's visit, which it is likely he cheerfully paid his uncle.

VII. MANUSCRIPTS FROM WHICH THIS WORK HAS BEEN EDITED.

The Editor has now briefly to explain that the MANUSCRIPTS from which the present Work has been edited are preserved in the Libraries of the Faculty of Advocates and the University of Edinburgh.

In preparing these valuable and important historical remains of our pious, faithful, and learned Author for the press, the Editor has deemed it to be an indispensable duty to present them to the Members of THE WODROW SOCIETY as nearly in the same dress in which they have been handed down by the writer as circumstances now permit.

The first portion of this Work consists of THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND DIARY OF MR JAMES MELVILL,¹ which is now printed from what appears to be the Author's original Manuscript, and which, fortunately, has the advantage of being enriched by the numerous enlargements and corrections which he from time to time found it necessary to make on these biographical and historical Memoirs.

¹ Advocates' Library, Jac. V. 6, 29, (new mark, 34, 4, 15.)

No other contemporary transcript is known to exist, although there are traces still to be found of many copies and extracts having been made at and subsequent to the period of the Author's death, and of the Diary being very largely made use of by all our early Ecclesiastical and Historical Writers, as a Work on which perfect reliance can be placed. Besides having served, in some respects, as the ground-work of the valuable "Life of Andrew Melville," by the learned and indefatigable Dr M'CRIE,¹ it is a well known fact, that the Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill has been very copiously quoted by Mr DAVID CALDERWOOD in his History of the Church of Scotland, by Mr JOHN ROW, Minister of Carnock, in his Ecclesiastical History, and by nearly every writer who has treated of the political and ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, during the troublous period embraced in the narrative of our Author's Work.

The honesty and integrity of Mr James Melvill, his highly conscientious character, and the very conspicuous part he was frequently called on to perform, when placed in situations of the utmost delicacy and difficulty, peculiarly fitted him to be a faithful and true Chronicler of the remarkable occurrences which passed under his own observation during the very eventful times in which he lived; and the value which has been placed on the Memoirs he has left behind him, ever since that time, affords a pretty sure criterion of their general accuracy and fidelity. No man can read his graphic pages without being deeply impressed

¹ "The Life of Andrew Melville: Containing Illustrations of the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Scotland, during the latter part of the Sixteenth, and beginning of the Seventeenth Century." 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1819.

with a high veneration for the character and integrity of the Author, however much he may otherwise be disposed to differ from him in the views he entertained of the affairs of Church or State which he discusses. An open, frank, and manly spirit appears in every page of his writings; and the disposition and temper of the humble and sincere, but zealous and uncompromising, Christian Minister shine forth throughout his highly interesting Autobiography and Diary.

The original Manuscript is written in a neat, small, but very correctly formed character; and although, like other Manuscripts of the same period, it abounds in many abbreviations and arbitrary variations of the orthography, it is, to those conversant with the writings of that age, sufficiently distinct and perspicuous. It consists of 371 pages, closely written on foolscap folio by the Author. For the satisfaction of the reader, it may be interesting to mention, that in a transcript of this Manuscript which belongs to Adam Gibb Ellis, Esq., it appears that the original Volume had by descent come into the hands of Sir William Calderwood of Polton, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and a Lord of Justiciary, "who had it among other papers which belonged to his grand-uncle,¹ Mr David Calderwood, author of *Altare Damascenum*, *History*, &c." Sir William Calderwood was admitted advocate, July 1, 1687,² and, after having filled the office of sheriff-depute of the county of Edinburgh, with considerable reputation, was elevated to the bench on the death of Sir William Anstruther of Anstruther, Nov. 6, 1711, under the title

¹ Wodrow's Letters, Adv. Lib. iii. 173.

² Pitmedden MS.—*Ib.*

of Lord Polton.¹ It is believed that Lord Polton presented the original MS. to the Faculty of Advocates, of which he was long a distinguished member, and to whose valuable Library he is understood to have made other benefactions.

The second portion of the present Work, being "A TRUE NARRATION OF THE DECLYNEING AIGE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, FROM M.D.XCVI. TO M.DC.X.," has all along been considered as the Author's Continuation of his Autobiography and Diary, which is alluded to by him as being contained in a separate volume. It is quoted and marked as such by Wodrow, in his MS. Collections, and has also been cited by Dr M'Crie, and other writers, who all appear to have been perfectly satisfied with the authenticity of these Manuscripts, from their own internal evidence, as well as from the circumstance of the two MSS. belonging to the Faculty of Advocates having uniformly been reputed to be the work of Mr James Melvill, and marked as such on the Volumes themselves. Until now the Continuation has never been printed.

After the Editor had completed the collation of the two Manuscripts of this Continuation, belonging to the Advocates' Library,² it was fortunately discovered that a MS. in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, which has for a long period been

¹ He died Aug. 7, 1733, in the 73d year of his age.—Historical Account of Senats of College of Justice, p. 492.

² The first is in foolscap folio, pp. 188, (shelf-mark, 34, 2, 11.) The other MS. is in small quarto, pp. 286; shelf-mark, Rob. III. 2, 12; being Vol. XIV. of the Wodrow MSS., entitled, "James Melvill's History of the Declining Age of the Church of Scotland."

known as a work on Church History, by Mr NINIAN DUNLOP, from 1596 to 1610, was in reality a transcript of Mr James Melvill's Continuation, above a century earlier in date than the two Manuscripts before alluded to.

The University Manuscript of the Continuation of Mr James Melvill's Diary is also a foolscap folio, consisting of 139 pages, very illegibly written on a discoloured, thin, spongy paper. It seems to have been transcribed early in the seventeenth century, by Mr Ninian Dunlop, who has (apparently for the purpose of identifying his transcript, and stamping the value which he set on its contents) pertinaciously subscribed his name or initials on some part of almost every leaf. This probably led the Keepers of the Library to catalogue and title this Volume as a work on Ecclesiastical History by Mr Ninian Dunlop; while, at the same time, that very circumstance would serve to withdraw the attention of those who have had occasion to consult the valuable stores preserved in that National Collection. The Editor has followed this last MS., as containing the oldest and the most correct text, and has also adopted its orthography; while, on the other hand, the various readings of the more modern transcripts, in the Advocates' Library, have been scrupulously noted. Without the aid of the University MS. the Editor would have considered it to be inexpedient for the Wodrow Society to have delayed the publication of the Continuation until a more correct MS. could be discovered, owing to the very incorrect manner in which these more modern transcripts have been made. There seems to be no reason for doubting, that all the three Manuscripts have been copied from one common original; but, after having

bestowed considerable pains, the Editor has not been able to trace any original or earlier Manuscript of this part of Mr James Melvill's work. The value of the "Narratioun" itself, as well as the important papers and documents which the Continuation has served to perpetuate, are too apparent to render any observations necessary in this place.

It may be remarked here, that while all abbreviations have been carefully discarded, the Editor did not feel himself at liberty to modernize the orthography, or to make the slightest alteration on the forcible style of the Author. In publishing, from original Manuscripts, historical or poetical works of Scottish authors, written in the racy vernacular of the sixteenth century, it seems to be highly inexpedient, indeed it would be unwarrantable, in an Editor to attempt any alteration in the style, or to translate the language then in common use at Court and in the pulpit. However, for the sake of aiding the modern English reader, and to obviate the difficulty of any of the Members of the Wodrow Society perusing the dialect of our Author, it has been considered necessary very briefly to explain, in foot-notes, such words and phrases as might be supposed to occasion hesitation in the minds of those not conversant with the phraseology and idiom of the Scottish dialect, at that period.

VIII. DEATH OF MR JAMES MELVILL.

The Author died on the 19th January 1614. The particulars attending his deathbed will be found in the Appendix¹ to this

¹ See App. No. II. to this Prefatory Notice.

Preface, but they are so briefly and feelingly narrated by the talented Biographer of Mr Andrew Melville, that no apology is needed to lay them before the reader, in his own words:—"A letter from Sir James Fullerton, which he (Mr Andrew) received in the month of April 1614, gave a shock to his feelings which it required all his fortitude to bear. His dearest friend and most affectionate and dutiful nephew, James Melvill, was no more. His health had for some time been in a state of decline, which was accelerated by grief at the issue of public affairs in Scotland, which his extreme sensibility disposed him to brood over with too intense and exclusive interest. In consequence of the importunity of his friends, and an apparently earnest invitation from Archbishop Gladstones, he set out for Edinburgh, in the beginning of the year 1614, to arrange matters for his return to Kilrinny, or, if this was found impracticable, to make permanent provision for that parish. But he had not gone far when he was taken so ill as to be unable to proceed on the journey, and with difficulty returned to Berwick. The medicines applied could not impede the progress of the distemper, which soon exhibited alarming symptoms. He received the intimation of this with the most perfect composure, and told his friends that he was not only resigned to the will of God, but satisfied that he could not die at a more proper season. On Wednesday the 19th of January, he 'set his house in order;' and all his children being present, except his son Andrew, (who was prosecuting his theological studies at Sedan,) he gave them his dying charge and parental blessing. His brother-in-law, Joshua Durie, minister at St Andrews, and Hume of Ayton, a gentleman who had shown him great kindness during

his residence at Berwick, waited by his bed-side. He was much employed in prayer. When he mentioned the Church of Scotland, he prayed for repentance and forgiveness to those who had caused a schism in it, by overturning its reformed discipline. And, addressing those around him, he said: 'In my life, I ever detested and resisted the hierarchy, as a thing unlawful and antichristian, for which I am an exile; and I take you all to witness that I die in the same judgment.' He made particular mention of his uncle at Sedan; gave him a high commendation for learning, but still more for courage and constancy in the cause of Christ; and prayed that God would continue and increase the gifts bestowed on him. In the midst of the acute bodily pain which he endured, during that night and the succeeding morning, he expressed his resignation and confidence, chiefly in the language of Scripture; and often repeated favourite sentences from the Psalms in Hebrew. Being reminded of the rapture of the Apostle Paul, he said—'Every one is not a Paul; yet I have a desire to depart and be with Christ, and I am assured that I shall enter into glory.'—'Do you not wish to be restored to health?' said one of the attendants. 'No; not for twenty worlds!' Perceiving nature to be nearly exhausted, his friends requested him to give them a token that he departed in peace; upon which he repeated the last words of martyr Stephen, and breathed gently away.¹ He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the eighth year of his banishment."²

Calderwood's MS. History, vii. 502-513.
Melville, ii. 438.

² M'Crie's Life of Andrew

In the Register of Burials, at Berwick, the following entry is made :

“ 1613,¹ JANUARIE 21, JAMES MELVILL.”

The present Church was built during the Commonwealth, and the tombstones in the ancient Churchyard appear to have been used as flagging-stones or pavement for the more modern structure. It is likely that the pious and grateful affection of his friends would induce them to erect a tombstone over his grave, or a commemorative tablet on the wall of the Church ; but if so, it has long since been defaced, like all the older sepulchral monuments of the kind of that place.

IX. CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR.

His character is thus summed up by the same impartial authority : “ The Presbyterian Ministers of that age were in general characterized by piety, assiduity in the discharge of parochial duties, disinterestedness, public spirit, and the love of freedom. In James Melville, these qualities were combined with the amiable dispositions of the man, and the courteous manners of the gentleman. ‘ He was one of the wisest directours of Kirk affaires that our Kirk had in his tyme, (says Calderwood,) and for that caus was ever employed by the Generall Assemblies, and other public meetings appointed by the King and General Assemblies. He acted his part so gravellie, so wisellie, so calmelie, that the adversarie could gett no vantage ; yet the King, being bent to perfyte that worke which he had begunne of his advancement of the

¹ That is, 1614, new style.

estate of Bishops, called him up to Court ; not doubting, by the instigation of the aspiring Prelates; but suffered him never to returne backe againe to his owne native countrie, least his presence and action sould be anie impediment to his designes. Thus was the man of God exiled and deteaned in a forreine countrie, without conviction of anie cryme but onlie for feare of these good parts that were in him.¹ Though gentle and not easily provoked, he possessed great sensibility ; could vindicate himself with spirit ; and testified an honest indignation at whatever was base and unprincipled, especially in the conduct of men of his own profession. He felt a high veneration for the talents and character of his uncle ; but he was a confidential friend and able coadjutor, not a humble dependent or sycophantish admirer ; and his conduct, during the last years of his life, when he was thrown on the resources of his own mind, served to display the soundness of his judgment, and to unfold the energy of his character.² Besides what he had published at an early period of his life, he prepared, a short time before his death, several treatises for the press. His Supplication to the King, in the name of the Church of Scotland, a work on which he bestowed great pains, is composed in an elegant and impressive style. Possessing less fancy than feeling, his poems, which are all written in the Scottish dialect, do not rise above mediocrity ; but from this censure, some parts of

¹ The foregoing extract has been obligingly communicated by the Rev. Thomas Thomson, from the original MS. of Calderwood's History, in the British Museum.

² When some urged that James Melvill might be allowed to return home, although it was dangerous to set his uncle at liberty, Archbishop Spottswood is said to have replied: " Mr Andrew is but a blast, but Mr James is a crafty, byding man, and more to be feared than his uncle !"—Wodrow's Life of James Melvill, p. 146.

his Lamentation over the overthrow of the Church of Scotland deserve to be exempted."¹

X. THE DISTRESS OF MR ANDREW MELVILL ON LEARNING
THE AUTHOR'S DEATH.

The distress which Mr Andrew Melvill felt at receiving the tidings of his nephew's death was calm and silent, because it was deep. It is expressed with a tender simplicity, in the following Epitaph,² which he wrote for him :

*Epitaph on Mr James Melvill, written by his uncle,
Mr Andrew Melvill.*

Chare nepos, de fratre nepos, mihi fratre, nepote
Charior, et quicquid fratre nepote queat
Charius esse usquam ; quin me mihi charior ipso,
Et quicquid mihi charius esse queat.
Consiliis auctor mihi tu, dux rebus agendis,
Cum privata, aut res publica agenda fuit.
Amborum meus una animo, corde una voluntas,
Corque unum in duplici corpore, et una anima.
Una ambo vexati odiis immanibus, ambo
Dignati et Christi pro grege dura pati.
Dura pati, sed iniqua pati, sub crimine ficto,
Ni Christum, et Christi crimen amare gregem.
Qui locus, aut quæ me hora tibi nunc dividat, idem
Hic locus, me hæc eadem dividat hora mihi.
Tune tui desiderium mihi triste relinquo ?
Qui prior huc veni, non prior hinc abeam ?
An sequar usque comes ? sic, sic juvat ire sub astra,
Tecum ego ut exul eram, tecum ero et in patria.

¹ M'Crie's Melville, *ibid.*

² M'Crie's Melville, ii. 509.

Christus ubi caput, æternam nos poscit in aulam,
 Arctius ut jungat nos sua membra sibi.
 Induviis donec redivivi corporis artus
 Vestiat, illustrans lumine purpureo.
 Æternum ut patrem, natumque et flamen ovantes,
 Carmine perpetuo concelebremus, Io.

In a letter to his friend, Mr Robert Durie, at Leyden,¹ Mr Andrew Melvill thus expresses himself: "The Lord hath taken to himself the faithfull brother, my dearly beloved son, Mr James Melville, in January, as I am informed by Mr James Fullerton. I fear melancholy to have abridged his days. He was in great perplexity and doubt what to do, as ye know, and as Mr Bamford wrote me; and I answered, by these letters which I sent you. I cannot tell if they be yet beside you; but I persuade myself he has never seen them. He was resolved to accept no restitution without you and Mr Forbes.² Now he is out of all doubt and faahrie,³ enjoying the fruits of his suffering here. God forgive the instruments of his withholding from his flock! I cannot write more at this time. If ye have received the particulars of his sickness and his death, I pray you let me know the circumstances at large."

XI. CHILDREN OF MR JAMES MELVILL.

Of the family of our Author it is to be regretted that little information can now be gleaned; but, in the absence of more ample information, the following memoranda may in part suffice to satisfy the reader's curiosity:

¹ Letters from Mr Andrew Melville to Mr Andrew Durie, No. 5, MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, No. 42.

² Two of the banished Ministers, whose sufferings are related at great length in the Diary.

³ Trouble, O. Fr. *fascherie*.

I. EPHRAIM was born at Newcastle, 15th January 1584-5,¹ during the temporary flight of his parents to England. The earliest reference made to him in the Records of the parish of Anstruther-Wester is on 29th April 1606, and 31st May 1608; where he is mentioned as a "Preacher."² In the Records of the Synod of Fife, his name appears among the "Expectantis," or Probationers, in September 1611.³ He was admitted minister of Newburn, a small parish in the Presbytery of St Andrews, in 1614;⁴ and was translated to Pittenweem, in the same Presbytery, in 1617.⁵ He is said to have died in 1629,⁶ and to have been succeeded by Mr John Melvill, probably his brother, who conformed to Presbytery in 1638, and died 1649. Wodrow, in his *Life of Mr James Melvill*, states that "Mr Ephraim was afterwards a faithful and useful minister of the Gospel at Queensferry, and singularly blessed with success in his ministry. I have been told he was the instrument of converting that extraordinary light of this, and I may say, all the Reformed Churches, Mr James Durham."⁷

It is believed that Mr Ephraim Melvill was translated from Queensferry to Linlithgow. In the Record of Retours, under date 4th June 1653, "Andrew Melvill, merchand burges of Edinburgh," is mentioned as being "second and third of kyne, on the father's syd, to Bessie, Eufame, and Kathrein Melvills, daughters to the de-ceist Mr Ephraim Melvill, minister of Linlithgow."⁸ If Wodrow

¹ *Diary*, p. 221. ² The Society is indebted to the Rev. Hew Scott, Minister of Anstruther-Wester, for this information. ³ Records of Synod of Fife, p. 39.

⁴ Records of Synod of Fife, p. 210.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 211.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Wodrow's MSS. xii. 154, Bibl. Coll. Glasg. For this extract the Society is indebted to Professor J. Seaton Reid, D.D. of Glasgow, who politely communicated it to the Editor. ⁸ Register of Retours de Tutela, No. 801.

is correct in supposing this individual to have been the eldest son of Mr James, there must be an error with regard to the period of his death. Lamont, in his *Diary of Fife*, also mentions that Mr Ephraim Melvill and two other Ministers in Lothian died in April 1653, which exactly tallies with the above-mentioned *Retour*.¹ The same authority, referring to the Sacrament having been dispensed in several places, on Sunday 13th July 1651, states: "Att this time, in Sconie, was present (beside Mr Samuel Rutherford) Mr James Guthrie and Mr David Bennet, *Mr Ephraim Meluen*, and Mr William Oliphant minister, in Dumfermling. Hither did resort many strangers, so that the thronge was great; for Mr Ephraim and Mr David Benet, both of them did sitt within the pulpit while the minister had his sermon. Mr Ephraim on the Sabath, and Mr David on the Moneday."²

There is no doubt, however, that Mr James' eldest son, Ephraim, was minister of Newburn; for, in a letter to his uncle, Mr Andrew, the Author thus writes, in the month of July 1612:—"Ephraimus meus Newburnenses pascit, doletque quod ad Kilriminos meos admitti non potuit. Non potuit siquidem adduci ut eos relinqueret Deixius."³

II. ANDREW, born at St Andrews, 9th July 1586.⁴ He was named after his grand-uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill. This child died in infancy, to the great grief of his parents, in the beginning of the year 1588.⁵

¹ Lamont's *Diary*, p. 54. ² *Ibid.* p. 32.
John Dykes. *Melvini Epistolæ MS.*, Adv. Lib.

³ In allusion to his colleague, Mr
⁴ *Diary*, p. 254. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 269.

III. ANDREW, who was born (probably at Anstruther) in the month of August 1588.¹ He was in after life a very great favourite of his grand-uncle, Mr Andrew, after whom he also was named. This young man generously partook of his great relation and patron's imprisonment in the Tower of London. In this duty he seems to have been occasionally relieved by his cousin, Andrew Melvill, another name-son of Mr Andrew, a young man of a romantic and unsettled disposition, who was the son of Mr Andrew's deceased brother, who died leaving a large family unprovided for.

Mr James's son, Andrew, after having left the Tower, where his grand-uncle had thoroughly grounded him in the languages, and completed his classical and philosophical education, resided with a Scotsman named Guthrie, who was a brother of Mr Alexander Guthrie of Edinburgh, and related to Mr James Lawson, the Minister. Guthrie taught an academy in the neighbourhood of London, and appears to have been assisted by young Andrew Melvill for some time. His school was at Hoddesdon as early as the year 1584. He died in the year 1609.²

Owing to the names of the two cousins, Andrew Melvill, being the same, it is difficult now correctly to trace the history of the second son of Mr James; but fortunately there have been preserved some notices in the valuable correspondence, already so often quoted,³ which suffice to show the progress of his education, and how he was employed down to the conclusion of this collection of the epistolary intercourse between Mr Andrew Melvill and his nephew.

¹ Diary, p. 269. ² *Ibid.* ³ Melvini Epistolæ, MS. Univ. Lib. pp. 56, 64, 100; M'Crie's Melville, ii. 355; Life prefixed to Bishop Cowper's Works.

Mr Andrew Melvill writes thus to his nephew, Mr James, *Idibus Octobris* 1609: "Redit ad te Andreas tuus (Guthraeo jam altero patre vita functo) melior; quidni ita credam? Si non multo doctior ea provincia, et severi senis quanquam amicissimi domestica disciplina." And again, November 28, he adds, "Andreas tuus, ut spero, jam aliquot, non dies modo, sed etiam hebdomadas apud te est." Of his nephew (young Andrew Melvill) he thus writes, April 1610: "Abit Andreas, nepos tuus, in Galliam."

His stay, however, must have been very short in France, or probably he merely returned through France to Scotland; for our Author, in a letter to his uncle, April 29, 1610, states that his son Andrew had just entered as a student of Theology and Hebrew, in Scotland. This was no doubt under his own eye, in the University of St Andrews.

In the summer of the following year, young Andrew left the University to pay a visit to his grand-uncle at Sedan. Accordingly, on 15th July 1611, from Berwick, Mr James writes his uncle in these terms: "Nescio an Andreas meus dextram tuam adhuc tetigerit." He appears to have continued in the same high favour with his venerable relative as when he helped to while away part of the time which hung so heavily on his hands, during his confinement in the Tower of London. In a letter dated at Sedan, 4 *Cal. Maii* 1612, Mr Andrew Melvill writes to Mr James: "Tuus, apud me, Andreas, in officio est et ut se dant principia bene sperare de progressu in literis jubet." To which Mr James replies from Berwick, "*Julio mense*," 1612: "Quam me beasti testimonio tuo de meo Andrea! Sed velim eum sudore vultus sui vivere," &c.

In the same letter he writes his uncle with the following inter-

esting particulars as to the members of his family : “*EPHRAIMUS* meus Newburnenses pascit, doletque quod ad Kilriminos meos admitti non potuit. Non potuit siquidem adduci ut eos relinqueret Deixius. *JOANNES* meus mecum est, bonas horas inutiliter locatus mea opera redimens. *ISABELLA* mea, jam nubilis, si essent numini, Edinburgi manet cum cognata sua, D. Bancalquelli filia, bona et amante foemina. *ANNA* est apud me, Anglice educta. Adhaerens lateri quae semper chara *MELISSA* sustinuit conjux exulis esse viri. Tui quam ego saepius memor et cupida magis ! Tibi et *ANDRAE* meo omnem salutem.”

At the beginning of the following year, we find that, in the month of January, (1613,) our author thus addresses his uncle : “*Cæterum, nisi tibi ad nutum placide demisseque inserviet Andreas meus, non amplius erit meus. Eat quo velit, nihil pensi habebo !*” So great was the veneration he felt for his highly valued uncle and friend.

Having remained with his grand-uncle since the beginning of summer 1611, young Andrew appears to have been recalled home to complete his studies at St Andrews, and probably to prepare himself for the holy ministry. On 15th June 1613, the author again writes to his uncle that he had not yet seen his son, Andrew, and gives the following reason for his delay :—“*Detinetur enim juxta Linam oppidum ad Cami ostium tertia notha laborans.*”

The last notice that we find of this very promising young man is preserved in the following quotation, which contains a contrast drawn between the characters of the two young men, and was written on the 5th September 1613, from Sedan, by Mr Andrew Melvill, to his nephew :—“*Andreas alter, fratris tui filius, ante alterius*

Andreas, filii tui discessum, huc venerat in re tenui admodum, ut qui ne obulo quidem gravis aut onustus esset quo se hospitio expediret! Mussat nescio quid de suo patrimonio non persoluto. Simplex est et apertus imbecillione iudicio. Tuus tectior et versutior. Uterque, si utilem non tardus provisor, certe prodigus seris."

Whether or not young Andrew Melvill died shortly after his arrival in England, the Editor has not been able to discover; but certain it is, that no mention is made of him in the Will of our Author, nor is any blessing left by Mr James while on his death-bed, which would seem to indicate that he had died before January 1614. In the Account of the Last Illness and Deathbed of Mr James, it is mentioned that "he callit on his childring, quho wer all thair, saiff ane." This probably alludes to his daughter Isabella, who, in July 1612, at least, remained in the family of her relation, who was probably a daughter of Mr Walter Balcanquhall, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. That excellent man was, with Lawson and Pont, one of the protesters against the "black acts" of 1584, and, with twenty other ministers, was forced to take refuge in England;¹ and the persecution against him was so hot, that he was denounced rebel after he had returned, and he was compelled again to return to England in 1596. If Andrew had been the individual alluded to, and if he had been with his grand-uncle at that period, assuredly Mr James would not have failed to bestow on him a father's blessing.

¹ It is related of Arran, that, with his usual coarseness, he threatened "that he would make Lawson's head to leap from his haise, (neck,) though it were as big as a haystack!"—*M'Crie's Melville*, i. 314.

IV. MARGARET, born 28th August 1593. She died in infancy, having only survived six or seven months.¹

V. JOHN, born on Thursday, 27th March 1595. This son is stated to have been named after his "guid-schyr," (grandfather by the mother's side,) Mr John Durie.² Of the history of this son little can be discovered, excepting that he studied for the Church, and that it is probable he succeeded his brother, Mr Ephraim, in the charge of the parish of Pittenweem, in the year 1629. That charge appears to have remained vacant from the year 1617, when Mr Ephraim was translated to Newburn, in 1629. Mr John conformed to Presbytery in 1638, and died in 1649.³ In the roll of the Presbytery of St Andrews, preserved in the Record of the Synod of Fife, Mr John Melvill appears to have been present at "the Provenciall Assemblie of Fyffe, hauldine at St Androis the 4th Aprile 1648." The ruling elder, who was present with him for Pittenweem, was "Johne Keith." No other authentic traces can at present be recovered of him by the Editor.

VI. ISSOBEL. It is singular that no mention is made of his two daughters by Mr James, in his Diary. In the letter above quoted, dated at Berwick in July 1612, the Author writes to his uncle at Sedan :—"Isabella mea, jam nubilis, si essent nummi, Edinburgi manet cum cognata sua, D. Bancalquelli filia, bona et amante foemina." Supposing her to have been sixteen years of age at that

¹ Diary, p. 309.

² Diary, p. 323.

³ Records of the Synod of Fife, p. 211; Lamont's Diary, p. 8.

time, he is likely to have been born in the summer of 1596. No notice of her marriage or death has been discovered.

VII. ANNA. It is likely this daughter was born in 1597 or 1598. In the above-cited letter¹ the only mention the Editor can find of this daughter occurs: "*Anna est apud me, Anglice educata.*"

Perhaps it ought to be mentioned that Mr Andrew Melvill, in one of his letters, speaks of his nephew as being then the father of five children. Omitting Ephraim, he speaks of Andrew, John, ELIZABETH, (in all probability a mere slip of memory or a clerical error for Issobel,) and Anne. There is no trace of Mr James Melvill having any daughter of the name of Elizabeth.²

It is probable that this is the last child our Author had. In his Diary³ it is related, that about the month of August 1600 his wife "was stricken with sic infirmitie that sche could nocht be a wyff to mie."

As has already been hinted, the precise date of the death of the Author's first wife is not known to the Editor, but it is believed to have occurred in June or July of the year 1607.⁴ It is believed she died in Scotland; for Mr James Melvill was not only detained as a prisoner in England, but he was barbarously refused leave to visit his wife in Scotland when on her deathbed. Calderwood, however, records, that after her demise Melvill was allowed, as a special favour, to go to Anstruther to put his family affairs in order short-

¹ Melvini Epistolæ, Jul. 1612. MS. Univ. Lib.

² Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 81-96. Univ. Lib.

³ Diary, p. 486.

⁴ See Calderwood's History, MS. British Museum.

ly after the period of her decease ; but he was strictly prohibited from preaching, or attending any meeting of Presbytery or Synod, during his stay ; and he was taken bound to return to the place of his confinement at the end of one month.¹

Since the earlier part of this Prefatory Notice was printed, the Editor has had an opportunity of examining more carefully the valuable MS. Collection of Letters in the University Library, so often quoted, (*Melvini Epistolæ*.) It is proper, therefore, to state a few particulars in further explanation of our Author's second marriage. Mr Andrew Melvill writes thus to his nephew, in the month of April 1610 :—"Remitto progymnasma tuum, expecto tuas. Quiescat *Melissa* ad tempus." At that period, Mr James Melvill was engaged in completing certain works, the rough draught of which he appears to have shown his uncle. The exhortation Mr Andrew gives him, to defer all ideas of love and marriage in the meantime, and seriously to betake himself to the completion of the works in question, shows that, at that date at least, the marriage had not taken place. In a subsequent letter, Mr James promises duly to observe his good advice.

On 11th April of the following year, 1611, Mr Andrew thus addresses our author :—"Mi fili, mi Jacobe, vale, vale, cum *Melissa* mellitissima, in Domino !" At that date, there is no doubt that they were married persons ; but it is likely, from the tenor of the correspondence with his uncle, that the marriage took place in the summer of the year 1610 ; for, before the close of that year, Mr

¹ Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, MS. Adv. Lib., vii. 49.—A much fuller account is, however, given in the larger MS. in the British Museum, which is now in the course of publication for the Wodrow Society.

Andrew sends his affectionate regards to "MELISSA," as the wife of his nephew and friend, and the worthy successor of "Eliza!" He then prays that they may pass many happy years in each other's society, and that Melissa might enable him to become the father of a fair offspring.¹

XII. WORKS OF MR JAMES MELVILL.

After bestowing considerable pains in collecting suitable materials, the Editor has not succeeded in preparing such ample and satisfactory bibliographical notices of our Author's Works as he would have wished. The limited time permitted for this purpose, his other laborious avocations, and the difficulty of recovering the necessary information, will, it is hoped, plead his apology with the Members of the Wodrow Society.

I. "THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SPAINYARTS' NATURALL, OUT OF JULIUS SCALIGER, WITH SUM EXHORTATIONES FOR WARNING OF KIRK AND COUNTRY." This seems to have been the first of Mr James Melvill's published works, in verse. He says, under date 1592, "then did I first put in print sum of my Poesie."² No copy of this Poem is known.

II. "A SPIRITUALL PROPYNE OF A PASTOUR TO HIS PEOPLE." Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the King's

¹ Melvini Epistolæ, MS. Univ. Lib. pp. 134, 141, 143, &c. See also M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, ii. 374.

² Diary, p. 307.

Majestie. Cum Privilegio Regis. Quarto, pp. 127. This book is extremely rare. A very imperfect copy is in the Advocates' Library. This work he styles his "CATECHISME," by the publication of which he lost four hundred merks.¹ It is dated from "Anstruther, the 20 day of Nouember, 1598." The first part is in prose: It consists of Prayers and Meditations suited to different occasions, Directions for Self-examination, and "The Forme of Tryall and Examination taken of all sik as ar admitted to the Table of the Lord," in the form of question and answer. The second part is in verse, and is introduced by the following title: "A Morning Vision: or Poem for the Practise of Pietie, in Devotion, Faith, and Repentance: Wherein the Lord's Prayer, Beleefe, and Com-mands, and sa the whole Catechisme, and right vse thereof, is largely exponed." It is prefaced by a metrical Dedication to "James the Sext, King of Scottes, and Prince of Poets in his language;" and contains, among other devotional and moral pieces, a singular composition set to music, and entitled: "Celeusma Nav-ticvm: The Seaman's Shovte, or Mutuall Exhortation to ga for-ward in the Spirituall Voyage."²

III. "A POEME, IN PRINT, CALLED THE BLACK BASTILL, OR A LAMENTATION OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, COMPYLED BY MR JAMES MELVILL, MINISTER AT ANSTRUTHER, (NOW, IN ANNO 1611, CONFYED IN ENGLAND.)"³

Dr M'Crie cites a manuscript copy of this poem, which is dated November 1611. The MS. is preserved in the collection of Ro-

¹ Diary, pp. 12, 443.

² M'Crie's Melville, ii. 505.

³ Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland, (*Maitland Club's Edit.*) i. 260.

bert Graham, Esq., of Redgorton. It extends to 93 stanzas. In the year 1634, an abridged copy of the poem was published, apparently abroad, under the following title: "The Black Bastel, or a Lamentation in name of the Kirk of Scotland, composed by M. James Melvil, when he was confined at Berwick, anno 1611. Abridged by N.—Ann. Dom. [1634.]" sm. 8vo, 8 leaves. This copy was reprinted, and is included in a very curious and valuable collection, entitled, "Various Pieces of Fugitive Scottish Poetry; principally of the Seventeenth Century," edited by David Laing, Esq. Edin. 1825, 8vo.

IV. A POEM, ENTITLED, "THIR MAY KEIP COUNSELL, GIVE TWA BE AWAY;¹ OR EUSEBIUS, DEMOCRITUS, HERACLITUS." This poem, which consists of 69 stanzas, is in the same MS. volume with the above.

V. A TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH VERSE OF PART OF THE ZODIACUS VITÆ OF MARCELLUS PALINGENIUS: "Dedicat to the E[arl] of D"[unbar.] It contains only *Aries* and part of *Taurus*.

This work is contained in the following interesting manuscript:

VI. D. ANDREÆ MELVINI EPISTOLÆ, Londino e Turri Carceris, ad JACOBUM MELVINUM, Novocastri, exulantem Scriptæ; cum ejusdem JACOBO nonnullis ad eundem. Annis supra 1608, 1609, 1610, et 1611. Item, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Apologetica ad Regem anno 1610, mense Aprilis. It is preserved in the Library

¹ If, or providing, two be absent.

of the University of Edinburgh, and has been largely quoted by Dr M'Crie, in his *Life of Andrew Melville*. This remarkable collection is well worthy of being printed by some of our literary associations.

VII. COLLECTION OF POEMS, Autograph MS., 4to, 102 leaves, presented to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates by the Rev. William Blackie, Minister of Yetholm, in May 1822. It has since been inlaid and bound. The chief contents are thus enumerated in the Catalogue of MSS.

(1.) SONNETS and other short Poems, written in 1610 and 1611, and some of them relating to Andrew Melvill, followed by a copy of a Petition to the Lords to examine the and carriage of D. Ban[croft,] Archbishop, by Hugh Broughton. Anno 1608.

(2.) A PRESERVATIVE FROM APOSTASIE, OF THE SONG OF MOSES,¹ with short notes for the deduction and doctrine thereof. Translated out of Hebrew, and put into Metre, first shortly, and then more at large paraphrastically.

¹ It is probable that this may be a translation or adaptation of a work of Mr Andrew Melvill's:—"CARMEN MOSIS, Ex Deuteron., Cap. XXXII. quod ipse moriens Israeli tradidit ediscendum & cantandum perpetuo, Latina paraphrasi illustratum. Cui addita sunt nonnulla Epigrammata, & Iobi Cap. III. Latino carmine redditum. Andrea Melvino, Scoto, Auctore. Basilee, M.D.LXXIII." 8vo, pp. 16. The manuscript of this work was, it is probable, left on the Continent by the author when he returned to Scotland. But one, at least, of the Epigrams, (that on the death of Charles IX.) must have been transmitted to the printer by Melvill after his arrival in Britain. In the inventory of books belonging to Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, inserted in his Testament Testamentar, is the following article:—"Item, xlviii. Carmen Moyses, the dosane xviii. d. summa, vj. s." There can be no doubt that this is Melvill's work. Bassinden died 18th October 1577. Commissary Records of Edinburgh.—*M'Crie's Melville*, i. 92.

(3.) DAVID'S TRAGIQUE FALL, in Verse, concluding with a Paraphrase of the 51st Psalm.

(4.) THE RELIEFE OF THE LONGING SOULE, or THE SONG OF SONGS, WHICH IS SOLOMON'S, expounded by a large paraphrase in metre, for memorie and meditation. Dedicated by James Melvil to his sister, M. Nicolas Murray, at London, November 5, 1606.¹

(5.) A Meditation of the Love of Christ, and effects thereof, for true thankfulness, and two Sonnets, end the volume.

VIII. His celebrated APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, which was not published until many years after his death: "AD SERENISSIMUM JACOBVM PRIMVM, BRITANNIARVM MON-ARCHAM, ECCLESIE SCOTICANÆ LIBELLUS SUPPLEX, ἀπολογητικὸς καὶ ὁλοφύρτικος. Auctore Jacobo Melvino, Verbi Dei Ministro, Domini Andreæ Melvini τοῦ πάνυ, nepote. Londini, Excudebat J. R. pro Georgio Thomason & Octaviano Pullen, anno 1645," 4to, pp. 49, besides two pages not numbered, containing "Epitaphium Auctoris, a Domino Andreæ Melvino conscriptum." 24 lines.

IX. AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND DIARY OF MR JAMES MELVILL, 1556-1601.

X. A TRUE NARRATIOUNE OF THE DECLYNEING AIGE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, 1596-1610, being a Continuation of the Diary.

¹ Perhaps this is the same with the "Book of Canticles," alluded to in the Account of his Last Illness, (App. No. II.) as having been "ane pairt of Scripture in which he was deligentlie versed, quhilk he had parraphrased and turned in pleasand Poesie." No such work is known to have been printed.

Before concluding these Prefatory Remarks, the Editor may take this opportunity of explaining, that in that portion of Wodrow's Manuscript Collections which was bequeathed to the Library of the University of Glasgow, there is a **LIFE OF MR JAMES MELVILL**, written by Mr Robert Wodrow, which is frequently quoted by Dr M'Crie, extending to one hundred and sixty pages of foolscap folio;¹ and in another volume, in the same Collection, there is a brief Appendix, illustrative of that Life.² Of these materials the Editor had only a very cursory inspection when last in Glasgow; and, as he considered the entire Life, as written by Wodrow, likely to prove too copious to admit of its being prefixed to the present Work, before resolving what was fit to be done, he recommended the Council of the Wodrow Society to apply to **THE CURATORS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW** for the use of these manuscripts, or for leave to have them transcribed. However, there being other two volumes in the same Collection containing Wodrow's **LIFE OF MR ROBERT BRUCE**, with relative Appendix,³ the Council were desirous that the Editor of **BRUCE'S SERMONS** (also in the course of progress through the press for the Wodrow Society) should previously examine them before preparing a Biographi-

¹ Wodrow's MSS. in the University of Glasgow Library, vol. xii. pp. 160.

² Vol. ii. of the same Collection contains the Appendix to the Life of Mr James Melvill.

³ Wodrow's MSS., vol. x. (marked Nov. 23, 1724,) extends to 112 pp. of small quarto, and contains several quotations of Letters, &c., with Life or Memoirs of Mr Robert Bruce. Vol. iv. contains an Appendix to this Life, viz.:—64 pp. of Letters: Sermon on XL. Psalm, (printed,) pp. 18: "Ane Exhortatione to the Provinciall Assemblie of the Presbyteries of Louthiane, haldin at Edinburgh the 16th of September 1589; made be Mr Robert Bruce, Minister of Christe's Evangell there," pp. 12.

cal Sketch of Mr Robert Bruce. For that purpose, a regular official application was made by desire of the Council to the University of Glasgow. The *Senatus Academicus* having declined that request, no further steps could be taken by the Council, in compliance with the wishes of the Editor, to obtain access for him to Wodrow's Papers, in relation to the Life of Mr James Melvill.

Owing to the extent to which this Work has reached, it has been deemed proper to print two separate sets of title-pages, so that Members who prefer it may ultimately bind the Autobiography and Diary in two volumes, which would be advisable, as was originally contemplated, although from motives of economy it has been boarded in the present shape.

R. P.

EDINBURGH, 25th November 1842.

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO

IN THE FOREGOING PREFATORY NOTICE.

I.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF MR JAMES MELVILL.¹

BERWICK UPON TWEED.—In the name of God, Amen. I **JAMES MELVINE**, precher of God's Word, sick of body, but in perfit memory, do make this my Last Will and Testament in manour and forme followeing, viz.

First, I comend my soule into the hands of Almightye God, my Maker, surelye trusteing, throughe the mirretts of his Sonn, Jesus Christ, my Redeamer, that all my sinns ar washed away and pardoned; and my body to be buryed at the discretion of my executrix.

¹ Extracted from the Registry of the Consistory Court of Durham. The above has been taken from the original Will, which is still extant, and is written on vellum. It is broken into paragraphs as it is here printed, and is indorsed thus :

" 1613. Testamentum JACOBI MELVIN, clerici, &c.

Par^h. de Barwick deft.

Probatum, 25 Feb."

The Inventory which follows is on paper.

Imprimis, I give unto DEBORA MELVINE, my wife, all that my house and tenement, wherein I now dwell at Berwick, together with all my goods and moveables whatsoever therein contained.

Item, I give to the said Debora, my wife, the some of one hundred pounds sterlinge, which is oweing unto me by Henry Maddison of Newcastle upon Tyne, marchant, appeareing by his bill, beareing date the xvith of Maye, 1610.

And also the some of ten pounds, which he, the said Henry Maddison, is oweing unto me, dew in May nexte insueing the date hereof, for which I have no spetialty. Desireing my said wife, at her departure from this life, (if God so inable her,) to despose the foresaid to such of my children as she shall best like.

Item, Whereas there is given unto me a yearly anewety by my worshipfull, godly, and well disposed frends, to witt, Mr Adam Newton, Deane of Durham, five pounds by year, Sir James Follerton, ten pounds, and by Mr Thomas Murey, Tuttor to the Prence, five pounds; I trust in ther godly desposissions they will pay the same to my said wife, for and towards the satisfieing of my debts and credits, and as it shall pleas God to move them to consider further on her as my wife.

Item, My will also is, that whatsoever lands, goods, or tenements I have in Scotland, my wife shall not medle therewith, nor have any parte therof, for that I have desposed of them to my children.¹ Nether shall any of my children medle with any of the estate before mentioned givin to my said wife, nor have anye parte thereof.

Item, I do give and bequeath to ISABELL CLERKE, my mother-in-law, ten pounds sterlinge.

Item, I do mak my said wife, Debora Melvin, my full and sole executrix of this my Last Will and Testament. Witnes my hand

¹ After every care has been bestowed on the subject, no trace of our Author's disposition and settlement of these "lands, goods, or tenements," can be discovered. The Inventory, for the time, displays considerable wealth.

and seall, the xiiijth day of Januarye, 1613, [1614,] according to the computaçon of the Church of England.¹

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presents of MICHAELL SANDERSON,² JAMES LANYE, WILLIAM FENWICK.³

A TREW INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF MR JAMES MELVEN, DECEASED, TAKEN BY US WHOSE NAMES AR HER UND^r WRITTEN, THE XXIIIIth OF FEBRUARY 1613. [1614.]

In the Hall.

	L.	s.	d.
It. i. Fir table and frame, ...	00	03	04
ij. Litle small fir tables, ...	00	02	00
j. Litle old cor ^r . cubbert, ⁴	00	01	04
ij. Shorte fir formes, ...	00	01	00
ij. Old litle gren chares, ...	00	00	8
j. Scots needle-worke carpett, ...	00	06	8
j. Old screane, ...	00	01	00
Six thrume cushens, ...	00	06	00
1 02 00			

In the Citchen.

j. Bras pott, ...	00	04	00
j. Iron pott, ...	00	02	00
ij. Small pana, ...	00	03	4
ix. Pewter dishes, ...	00	09	00

¹ The Will does not bear the signature of Mr James Melvill. It is probable that, on his deathbed, this excellent man had been wholly unable to sign his name; which may account for the subscriptions of *three* attesting witnesses.

² Michael Sanderson was Mayor of Berwick in 1603; and again in the years 1612, 1619, and 1628.

³ William Fenwick was likewise Mayor in the years 1629, 1635, and 1638. For these notices, the Society is indebted to Robert Weddell, Esq. They are recorded here in testimony of the very high estimation in which Mr James Melvill, though a prisoner at large, was held by those highest in authority in this ancient borough.

⁴ Corner cupboard.

	L.	s.	d.
iiij. Small sauc ^{rs} .	00	01	00
ij. Hand basons,	00	02	6
ij. Pewter candlesticks,	00	02	00
j. Old quart pot,	00	01	04
j. Pottle pot,	00	03	04
ij. Chamber pots,	00	02	00
j. Chaffing Dishe,	00	00	10

01 11 4

In the Chamb^r. and Parler.

j. Short table and frame,	00	05	00
j. Corn ^r . cubbert,	00	02	6
vj. Leather chares,	01	00	00
x. Scots nedle-work quishens, ¹	00	15	00
vj. Gren carsey quishens,	00	05	00
ij. Picklers,	00	02	00
j. Standing bedsted, w th . curtens and vallence,	01	00	00
ij. Feth ^r . Bedds, j. bolster, and ij. pillowes,	03	00	00
j. Tooll twilte,	00	06	8
j. Grean rugg,	01	05	00
j. Pr. of blankets, and j. Scots plad,	00	08	00
ij. Oth ^r . bedsteads w th . the furnisheing,	01	06	8
j. Small trunke,	00	03	00
j. Oth ^r Scots nedle-worke carpett,	00	06	08
ij. Small cabenets,	00	08	00
Certaine books worth,	02	00	00
His apparrell,	05	00	00
Linen sheets, table clothes, pellebr ^l , ² and nap- kins,	03	10	00
vj. Silver spounes,	02	00	00
j. Silver k ⁿ n, ³	01	10	00

24 13 6

Sm^c.

027 06 10

¹ Cushions.² Pillowberes.³ Can, tankard.

<i>It.</i> Mrs Henry Maddison of Newcastle is oweing	L.	s.	d.
by spetialty,	100	00	0
And more, the said Henry Maddison ¹ is			
oweing w ^h out spetialty,	010	00	00

Sm^c. totalis, 137 06 10

JAMES LANY.

WILL^m. FEWN^m.

Will proved 25th February 1613. [1614.]

Duly compared and examined this twenty-sixth day of October 1842.

JOSEPH DAVISON,

Depy. Reg^r.

Extracted by

ROBERT BURRELL,

Proctor.

¹ In St Nicholas' church, Newcastle, there is a monument erected to the Maddison family, "of marble, painted and gilded since its erection," (*Brand's Hist. of Newcastle*, i. 291,) from which Mr Weddell has kindly noted what relates to the friend of Mr James Melvill:—

"Here, interred also, are the bodys of HENRY MADDISON, and ELIZABETH, his wife, (daughter to Robert Barker, of this towne, Alderman,) who lived together most comfortably and lowingly, in true wedlock, the space of 40 yeares. He was sometyme Maior of this towne, and having lived in good name and fame 60 yeares, deceased in the trve faith of Chryst, the 14th of Jvly, 1634. Elizabeth, his only wife, had issve by him ten sonnes:—Sir Lionel Maddison, knight, Raphe, Robert, William Henry, Peter, George, Timothy, [John,] and Thomas; and six daughters, Jane, Svsan, Elizabeth, Barbara, Elenor, and Jane: All the sonnes at his death were living but John, who died in the late expedition to Cadiz. She lived his widow 19 yeares, and being aged 79 yeares, dyed the 24 of September, 1653."

He derived his Newcastle "franch" from a second son of Rowland Maddison of Unthank, near Berwick, (*Surtee's Durham*, ii. 135.) In 1554, an Anthony Maddyson was made a burgess of Berwick, and he seems to be of the same family. There are still wealthy families of that name resident in Newcastle and other places in the county of Northumberland.

II.

ACCOUNT OF THE LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF
MR JAMES MELVILL.

ANE MINUTE OF SIK THINGIS HARD AND SEINE IN THE DEATH OF
THAT FAITHFULL SERVAND OF GOD, MR JAMES MELVILL, MI-
NISTER AT KILRANIE, QUHO DIED IN EXYLL¹ AT BERVICK, THE
20 OF JANUAR, 1614 YEIRIS.

“Mark the vpright man, and behold the just, for the end
of that man is peace.”—Psal. xxxvii. 37.

First, it was markit that his heavie diseas seasit upon him at
that time quhen the Bischop of Sanctandrois sent for him to cum
to Edinburgh, to conferre upone the conditiones of his home cuming ;
for, being one his journey, his bodie alteris, and that so grytlie, that
he wes compellit to turne bak again, and, efter ane schort space, to
tak bed.

Secondlie, the pain of his diseas wes wonderfull vehement, as
the Doctor affirmed, fra ane hudge quantitie of teuch² humoris
gathered togidder in his syd, in the forme of ane postrum,³ quhair-
untill the melancholie humor wes predominant. Sindrie thingis
wes applyed for purgatioun, baith above and under ; quhilk
wrought verrie weill, geving due intermissione to pain, but never
ane full exemptione thairfra.

Thridlie, the continuance and humoris of this paine maid him

¹ He had been in all seven years in confinement in England.

² Tough.

³ *Caldewood's* abstract of this paper properly reads, “ane aposteme,” i.e. an apos-
tume or imposthume. “Postrome,” however, it may be remarked, was frequently used
for a *postern*, from L. B. *posturium* ; and might, in this case, denote the shape of the
abcess, or carbuncle, with which Mr James Melvill was so much afflicted.

to think that it wes deadlie. He fed himselff so with this thought, that noe reasoun^e used, aither be doctoris or utheris, could dissuade him thairfra, saying oft tymes, it gave him in his heart he wold die; and in his conceit he could not in ane better tyme.

His contentmentis by death were thir, as he himselff rehearsit thame :

First, ane exemptione fra sinne and paine; citing that place in the second of the Corrinthianis, v. 4, "For indeid we that are in this tabernacel sicke¹ and are burdenit, becaus we wald not be vnclod,² bot wald be cled, that mortaletie might be swallowed up of lyff."

The second wes, the testimonie of his conscience, in keipeing fast the trewth without a brek, notwithstanding of sindrie tentationes, till his dying day; and so, oft tymes rejoyced himselff with that speich of [Paul, in ii.] Timothie, [iv.] chap. [6-8] verse, "For I am now readie to be offered up, and the tyme of my departure is at hand; I haiff faught the good fight, I haiff finished my course, I haiff keipit the faith; from hence furth is laid up for me the croune of righteousness."

The thrid wes, that in his death, and by his death, he might confirme the trewth of the caus for the quhilk he suffred, to the consciences of all, deing³ constantlie in that trewth as he leived; in it rejoycing with the Apostle, Philip. ii. chap. ver. 17, to be offred up upone the sacrifice and service of thair faith.

The fourt wes, the sight of the face of God in glorie; rehearsing that verse of the xvi. Psalm, "Thow wilt schaw me the pathe of lyff; in thy sight are the fulnes of all joyes, at thy right hand is the plentie of pleasures for evir."⁴

His only refreschment and releiff, in the extremitie of paine, wes prayer, beleiffing that part of the word, "Call upon me in the day of trubel, I will hear the," Psal. l. verse 1. His prayeris were often, as the heareris can record, bothe day and night; they wer verrie pithie, with manie tearis. In all his prayeris, efter he had

¹ Sigh.

² Unclothed.

³ Dying.

⁴ Psal. xvi. 11.

begged mercie and confort to himself, he ever rememberit the kirk in generall, and Scotland in particular, lamenting heavilie hir dissolutione; applyeing that speich of Chryst, in the Gospell, to give hir thousand eis "to sie thos thingis that belongeth unto thy [her] peace." He prayed for repentance of so manie of the breithering as had made ane schisme in the kirk, by ranverseing¹ that forme of Governement quhilk wes anes, upon the warrand of Godis word, with ane uniforme consent of all, establisched; and quhairwith the Kirk, be the space of manie yeiris, wes hapelie relivit.² He ever rememberit his fellow-suffereris, and craved earnestlie strenth and courage to thame for perseverance to the end; naming them all in particular to God by thair names. Throw the waiknes of his awin bodie, being gryttlie extenuat by the grouth of pain, he wes subject to syndrie suerfes and souninges,³ quhilk he himself called the foirrunneris of death.

On Weddinsday, in the morning, quhilk wes the 19th Januar, the day befor his death, ane heavie suerf overtaketh him; quhilk continued lang, sua that scarslie we lookit for onie recóverie; yit, throw the Lordis providence blissing good meanes, at lenth he revived, saying to us, pitifullie, that he wes weill, if we had lattin him be so! He began to think with himselff that his tyme is not to be long heir; and, thairfor, with gud King Hesekiach, resolved, sua lang as strenth served him, to put his hous to ordour; and imediatlie callit on his childring, quho wer all thair saiff ane,⁴ and lifting up himself bothe in bodie and spreitt in the bed, in the audience off all, he declared his will, appoyntit his eldest sone to be in his place as ane father to the rest, and leaving untill everie ane a pledge of his fatherlie cair and affectione. The declaratioune of his will being finisched, his eldest sone craved for his blissing earnestlie, without whilk all wes nothing: Quhair-unto he wes most willing; and, gaddring spreittis to himselff, abruplie, he had a speich to everie ane, be way of blissing, so elo-

¹ Overturning; turning upside down.—Fr. *renverser*.

² Rewlit? ruled.

³ Fainting fits and swoonings.

⁴ Saving, excepting one. Probably in allusion to Andrew, his second son, who was then completing his theological studies under his grand-uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill, at Sedan.

quentlie and so pertinentlie, so heartilie, and in sik confidence, as wes mervelous to hear :

To Ephraime, he wisched the blissing of Ephraim, [Abraham ?] Isaak, and Jacob ; saying, " God mak the as Ephraim, quhilk is ansuerabill to thy name, being fruitfull in all sort of good workis."

To Johne, " that he might be gratius, bothe in the sight of God and man, throw Godis grace."

To Issobell, he wisshed " that scho might be lyke hir mother in all godlines, vertew, and in all comelie behaviour."

To Anna, he wisseth " humilitie and meekness ; and that, according to hir name, scho sould insinuat hir selff in the acceptatione and love of all."

Haiffing endit thais blissingis to his childring, he rememberit the Kirk, and his most excellent Majestie, in his speich [with teares uttering these words,¹] " The Romish hirarchie will schortlie undo religione in Scotland ; I pray the Lord oppin the Kingis eies, that he may sie it, and grant him grace to amend it. In my lyff I ever deteastit it, and resistit the same as ane thing unlawfull and antechrystiane, for the quhilk I am heir in exyll ; and now, I tak yow all to witnes I die in the same judgment this day."

He rememberit, most lovinglie, all his dear freindis and acquaintance in Chryst ; and, namelie, his loving uncle, Mr Andro, to quhom he gave ane honorabill comendatione for his literator, bot speciallie for sinceritie and courage in the caus of Chryst, quhilk he besought the Lord to [increase and²] continow to the end.

He rememberit sum gentlemen in Angus, to quhais gudwill he wes oblegit.

He rememberit, in lyk maner, the faithfull Breithering of the Ministrie of Fyff most effectuellie.

As ane loving schiphird, he blissed his flok ; thanking God for the occasione they had, praying earnestlie they might use it weill, for the crowning of that work quhilk God had maid him the instrument to begin and prosequut.

He mentionit manie of the Ministrie of Louthain, the Merse,

¹ Supplied from Calderwood's History, MS.

² Ibid.

and in particular named some gentlemen to quhois kyndnes and gudwill he acknowledged God himselff grytlie to be bund.

He blissed the tounne of Berwick, the Doctor, for his paines.

He rememberit some of his acquentance at Londoune ; and from thence, passing over the seas, he sueitlie named the haille banished Brethering, thanking God for thair constancie, and wissed perseverance to the end.

And after he had endit his speich, he earnestlie desyred Mr Durie¹ to conclud all with ane prayer ; quhilk he did verie zealouslie. Efter the quhilk he tuik him to rest, and passed over that haille day, sum tyme in rest, as it seimed, and sum tymes in paine.

About sex of clok at night, the Laird of Aitoune,² ane of his deir acquentance, cam in to him, to quhom he spak most comfortabillie ; and affected him sua with joy, that he resolved, howbeit his awin hous wes neir hand, to stay all night to heir and sie farder ; quhilk efterward he ascryved to Godis providence, and thanked him for it.

About nyne houris at night, waking from his sleip, he fand in his bodie ane sensibille alteratione to worse ; forby³ that his pain increased and his strenth decreased, sua that he wes cast in ane mervelous feare of impatience ; and thairfor desyred his wyff to send about the Laird [of Aitoune,] the Doctor, with Mr Durie, (who a litill befor wer gone frome him,) to come to him in hast. He seing the Doctor, he sayis, "For Chrystis saik, use some meanes to quench this, for I am vnhabill to abyde it !" The Doctor replyes, that he had used all meanes that lay in the witt of man : "Thair is no remeid but patience, quhilk God most give, and ye most crave, and we helpe yow." With ane heavie sich, he sayes, "Lord, grant me it !" and desyred us to fall down upon our knies, for begging the same. The Minister, as before, in prayer, craved it of God.

The prayer being endit, he cryes out, with David, in the xxxix. Psal., "Tak away the plag,⁴ for I consume with the straik of thyne

¹ Joshua Durie, Minister of St Andrews, his brother-in-law.

² William Hume ?

³ Besides.

⁴ Plague.

hand ;"¹ and, with Job, "Albeit thou sould slay me, yit will I trust in thee ;"² and rememberit him of Moses' busch quhilk wes burning and yit neuer wes consumed,³ becaus God wes in it.⁴

Being ovir mutch with the pain, he fallis over in ane quyet sleipe, quhilk lested till tuelff of the klok ; syndries of the chamber went to thair bed, upon good hoipe of his recoverie. About ane of the night he wakned exstreame seik, and sayes to his sone, "I feare my awin weaknes ; I cannot last long. Tak hed to me, or ellis I will slip away !" On his wakning [he says, "Goe walken"⁵] the Laird, Doctor, and Mr Durie." The Doctor comeing in in hast to him, he tellis him the pain had flitted from his syd and bak, and had com to his heart ; useing thir wordis, "*Palpitat cor.*" The Doctor replyes, it wes ane token his battell wes neir ane end. Fearing this, he cryes, with Simeone, "Now, lettest thou thy servand depart in peace ; myne eyes [haiff] sein my [thy] salvatione : A light revealed to the Gentillis, and the glorie of Israell," Luk. ii.⁶

He says to the minister, "Good Mr Durie, give me the last gudnight. Comend my saull and bodie unto the handis of God, my Redeemer." This being done, he comforteth himselff with syndrie speiches out of the Psalmes, quhilk he rehearsit in Hebrew ; as namelie, ane speich out of the iv. Psal., "Lord, lift up the lyght of thy countenance upon me :"⁷ The xxvii. Psal., "The Lord is my light and my salvatione, quhat can I fear ?"⁸ The xxiii. Psal., "Albeit I wakit through the valley of the schadow of death, yit will I fear none evill, becaus God is with me ; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me."⁹

The candell being behind bak, he desyred that it sould be brought befor him, that he might sie to die. Be occasione quhair-of, that pairt of the Scripture wes rememberit, "Light aryses to the righteous in the middes of darknes," Psal. cxii.¹⁰ "The Lord

¹ Psal. xxxix. 10.

² Job xlii. 15.

³ Exod. iii. 2.

⁴ Acts vii. 35.

⁵ Calderwood MSS.

⁶ Luke ii. 29-32.

⁷ Psal. iv. 6.

⁸ Psal. xxvii. 1.

⁹ Psal. xxiii. 4.

¹⁰ Psal. cxii. 4.

will lighten my candell, he will inlighten my darknes," Psal. xviii.¹

For the space of tua houris, the pain and seiknes held him so at the heart that he wes without language; dureing the quhilk tyme his sone rememberit him of manie confortabill speiches of Scripture, quhilk he heard with great joy, and greatt cheirfullnes. In takin quhairof, he geve ever ane demonstratioun, and signed² with his handis, testefieing his inward motioun conforme, [in token of his joy and feeling, quhen anie comfortable sentence of Scripture was uttered to him.³]

Quhen the xiv. of Johne wes rememberit, "Lett not your heartis be trubled, ye beleiv in God, beleiv also in me," he lifted up his hand towardis heaven.

Quhen the fyve wyse virgines wer rememberit, quho had their lampes in readines to meitt the brydgrome, he putt his hand to his heart, and chaped⁴ thryse on it. Quhen he wes rememberit of Paulis speich, Rom. viii. "Quho sall separat me from the love of God? Sall principallities, or pouaris, thingis present or to cum, lyff or death?"⁵ he turned the bak of his hand to them all; and rejoyced in this, that in them all he sould be more than conqueror throw Chryst that [loved] him. So, feilling his pain to work upward, and perceiving his eare to faill him, that he hard not so weill as he did befor; eftir ane long silence, quhen we thought the pouar of speaking had left him, in vearie cleir tearmes, he cryes out, putting his hand one his eare, "He is heir, he is heir! Welcome, welcome!"—meaning deathe. [Being asked, If he were desirous to turne backe? He answered⁶] and said, "Williame, Williame, I am now sure I sall not goe again bak for twentie worldis!" Comforting himself with that speich, xxxvi. [Psal.] "How excellent is thy mercies to us; thairfor the childring of men trust under the schadow of thy weingis: Thou feidis him with the fatt thingis of thyne hous, and gives them to drink of the

¹ Ps. xviii. 28.

⁴ Knocked.

² Made a sign with his hand.

⁵ Rom. viii. 35-39.

³ Cald. MSS.

⁶ Cald. MSS.

rivaris of thy pleauris; for with the [is the] wall¹ of lyff, in thy light I sall sie light.”²

Being rememberit of Jacob his vision of a ledder that he saw betuix heaven and earth, God upon the head, the angellis going up and doune, he sayis, “Stay³ is the ledder of death, and leith⁴ is flesh to clim it!”

Being rememberit of Paull his revischeing to the thrid heavens, and of the glorius revelationes he gatt thair, he ansuered, “Everie ane wes not with Paull, alwayes⁵ he wes assured to be filled with glorie.”⁶

Quhen they told him of the sight of Stevin, how he saw the heavins oppin, and the glorie of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God, he prayed Stephane his prayer, “Lord Jesus, receave my spirit.”⁶

Quhen ane speich of the Canticle wes fitted unto him, it grytlie rejoyced him, being ane pairt of the Scripture quhairintill he wes deligentlie versed, quhilk he had parraphrased and turned in pleasand poesie. This wes oft in his mouth, “My weill beloved is myne, and I am his.”⁷ “Cover me with the baner of his love; stay me with flagones; confort me with apples.”⁸

Efter this manner the morning wes putt off, his breath drawing upward, continuallie, in als gryt peace and quyetnes as befor he had pain.

Quhen we thought that all his senses wer gone, and he almost without fealing, he lay so quyet, his sone cryed unto his eare, and askit Quhat he wes doing? He ansuered, albeit with grytt deficultie, he wes “singing the Song of the Lamb.” At the quhilk all then wondered.

We desyred him to give us the last signe of his inward joy, through the sense of Godis presence, and his reddines to depart cheirfullie: He lifted up baith handis, and said, “Sueitt Jesus, receave my saule!” [After these words he never stirred, but

¹ Well, fountain.

² Psal. xxxvi. 8, 9.

³ Steep is the ladder.

⁴ Laithe; loath, unwilling.

⁵ Notwithstanding.

⁶ Acts vii. 59.

⁷ Cant. ii. 16.

⁸ Ib. 4, 5.

sobbed softer and softer, till at length he surrendered the spirit;¹ and that so quyetlie, [peaceable, and insensiblie,²] that nain could perceave; and [like] the Patriarch Jacob, he endit his dayes, quhilk wer few and exyll, and he holy spent in the service of God, as the storie of his lyff will declair; and he eattis the fruittis of his labouris, in ane pairt of the sawell, amonges the number of the righteous, till the day of the full redemption of the childring of God; quhen, in bodie and sauell, he sall schine in the heavens as the sune and moone in the firmament: To the quhilk place the Lord may bring me to that evirlasting joy and portione, for Chrystis saik. Amen.³

Give⁴ thow wald lyff a godlie lyff,
 Think daylie thow most die:
 Give thow wald die ane happie death,
 Live weill, I counsell thee!⁵

¹ Supplied from Calderwood's MS. History in British Museum.

² Ib.

³ "Thus endit that faithfull servant of God, Mr James Melvine, his dayes, in exile, after he had spent a great part of his life in the service of God, and suffering for the truthe."—*Ibid.*

⁴ If.

⁵ The writer of this interesting account adds below, "This is my gutcheris [i.e., grandfather by the mother's side] testament."

III.

POEMS ON THE DEATH OF MR JAMES MELVILL,

BY MR THOMAS MELVILL.¹

I.

TO THE TREWLIE HONORABLE, A VERRIE ACCOMPLISHED AND SINCERLIE AF-
FECTED CHRISTIANE GENTELMAN, HIS VERRIE ASSURIT IN THE LORD
JESUS, ALEXANDER KEITH OF BALUMIE.

SONET.

Quhen as I think upon that dolent day,
Quhais bad aproch hes bailfull newes brocht,
Quhilk maid thy weiping eyes thy wois bewray,
As seconde treuchman² to thy sadder thocht:
Nixt, quhen I find how he forgot the nocht
Quhen streames of deith most stronglie with him strave;
His love to thee thy worth to him hes wrocht
To link your heartis in love, above the leave.³
Quhairthrow I sie, and sensiblie perceive,
As aie thow did, with oppin heart and hand,
His memorie, howbeit he be in grave
And lair, yow loveis, howbeit in unholy land:
Go, since thow art compartner of my cairis,
To yow, guid Sir, I dedicat my tearis.

Youris, ever devoted to serve yow in the Lord,

T. M.

¹ Of this ingenious young man, who wrote the following poems in the fourteenth year of his age, the Editor has not been able to collect any satisfactory information. It is probable he was a nephew or near relative of Mr James Melvill.

² Interpreter. O. Fr. *trucheman*.

³ *Lave*, rest.

II.

THE FUNERALL TEARIS OF T. M. FOR THE DEATH OF HIS DEIREST FREIND
AND LOVING FATHER, THAT FAITHFULL SERVANT OF GOD, MR JAMES
MELVILL, MINISTER OF GODIS WORD AT KILRANIE ; QUHA DEIT, CONFYNIT
AT BERWICK, THE 20TH OF JANUAR, 1614.

INVOCATIONE.

Immanuel ! my muse, heich Prince, Apollo myne,
Jove's loud and match God will [with ?] trew delites devyne
Inspire me from above, beir witnes to my cairis !
Iff in my lynes thair lyrkis dissait, or treson in my tearis,
Iff from my pen proceed a word bot veritie,
Then, thow protector of the trewth, condem it as ane lie.
Bot if I treat of trewth, and wald that trewth war kend,
Thoch Momus freit, I feir him not, Thow sall thy trewth defend.
And yow that temporize, and schames the trewth to tell,
Thow trewthles tounge, and hoples hert, go hay¹ thee hence to hell !
I treat of tragik tearis, my sangis are of the same,
Sen murning mater best beseames my mirthles muse to fraime.
Melpomene, that Muse that onlie myndis to mone,
Sall cum and tak her place be me ; scho sall not murne alone.
The baldest fyrie flaim that in Mont Etna burnis,
Quhair wglie mefist² Schedalus his tomb with terror turnis :
His ludge is left of lait, and in my breist is boun
With greif to gall my heavie hert, and beir my body down.
The tall trymling treis, quhois staitlie topis uprise,
And seames throw watrie woltis³ of air to cut the chrystell skyes,
Did lour and bent them low, as witnes of my wrangis,
Alse scho out of hallow caves resoundis my dririe sangis.

¹ Hie, hasty.

² Perhaps from O. Fr. *mefier*, to distrust.

³ Vaults.

The cloudis do ceis to drop, the wavering windis to blow,
 The ventyes¹ one bankis leif off to blow, the sies to fill and flow;
 The birdis, with chirming chair, that cuttis the azure skyes,
 They ceis to sing; the beistis to low, the fisch to sowme our seis:
 The sone and moone amas'd, and steris all still thai stand,
 And all Jove's hudge and curious workis the sei they left the land,
 Left off thair kyndlie cours, and cairit with me to ken,
 About ane tombe quhat meanit to murne so many modest men?
 Bot quhill agast me gazed, thrie out amangs the leave²
 In Durik numberis³ sadlie soundis thair sangis about his grave.

[FIRST] SONGE.

This land hes lost a light, our Kirk may now bemoane;
 Religione lakis hir love sinterit a sone.⁴
 Iff leirning mycht with wit, if grace with gravetie;
 Iff prudent cariage be in pryce, if matchles modestie;
 And, in a word, I vow, iff vertew ludge below,
 Heir lyes the worthiest wicht, for one my self did know:
 His faith, his hope, his love, his cours of lyff wes kend,
 Oh! lat me lyff his holie lyff, and mak his blissed end!

SECOND SONGE. MEL-VINUM.

As hony, mixt with Celtik or Hebereane wyne,
 The one the other qualifie; so both are guid and fyne;
 Richt so, quhair Naturis giftis, and skill acqwyred be Art,
 Both in ane compas are conteinit within ane hallowit hert,
 Grace suggeris all the rest, and seasonis all; and then
 The first a pleasant portione makes, the nixt a perfect man.

¹ Probably for breezes.—Fr. *vents*.

² Rest, *lave*.

³ Doric numbers.

⁴ Perhaps this implies that a favourite son was thus *sundered* or torn from her.

Then hapie he quhois name and fassione had that seat
 To get the grace to sanctifie his giftis, quhilk were so gret !
 His name includis, we know, the hony and the wyne ;
 His saul now drinkis the ambrosie and nectar most devyne.
 His [body] now closit in clay must in his cave remain
 Untill the tyme that trumpettis sound the righteous call again.
 His gloir that's now begun sall then accomplished be,
 But¹ intermissione or exchange for all eternitie.

THRID SONGE. SONET.

This leife is nothing but a vaill of tearis ;
 This leife is most inconstant, cled with cairis ;
 This febill leif is frauchtit full of fearis ;
 This leif hes sillie hopis, bot deip disparis ;
 This leif is nothing but a schoole of wearis,
 Now seame we sound, but schortlie full of fearis.
 Our surtie's small, our hopis are hung be hairis !
 This nane denyes, but few this lessone leiris.²
 Few lothis to live, few for the end preparis,
 Few sichis for sin, bot gled the burding beiris.
 Few leirnis to die, and few thair comptis clairis ;³
 Few in the land of leif seikis to be airis.⁴
 Then hapie, hapie, hapie thryse is he
 Quho lothit his leife, and lerneth to die !

¹ Without.² Learn.³ Clear or settle their accounts.⁴ Heirs.

III.

ANE DIALOGUE UPON THE DEATH OF THE SAID DEFUNCT.

INTERLOQUITORS.

VIATOR.

FAMA.

VIATOR.

Stay, passenger,
 I pray, a prettie space,
 Quhair haldis the race,
 That garia the fle so fast?
 Art thow in haist?
 May yow not pair thy pace?
 How cumes the case
 Thow seames to be agast?
 Off courtesie, I pray ye, be so kynd
 To stay a quhill, and tell us of thy mynd.

FAMA.

Let be, my freind,
 Impach¹ me not, I pray,
 I may not stay;
 For so purportis my name,
 I am fleing Fame,
 That dar mak no delay,
 Be night nor day,
 Till I the trewth proclaim.

¹ Hinder me not. O. Fr. *empescher*.

It is my calling. I have tane in hand
To sound Tyme's trumpett, both be sie and land.

VIATOR.

Welcume to me,
Sueit saul, quhair hes thow bein ?
Quhat hes thow sein ?
Speake out, and do not pante,
Quhat is the chante ?
Quhat may this murning mein ?
Seldome is sein
In the sic conntinuance.
Quhat newis in hevin, in hell, in earth, in air ?
It seames nae mowis¹ that makis the murne so sair.

FAMA.

I spair to speak,
Lest I sould seame to lie.
Fane wald I fie,
Iff thow wald let me go.
But sen yow, so
Importune, urgis me,
The veritie
I sall ye schortlie scho ;
Sic strange event is fallin furth of lait
Makis heavin rejoyce, hell rage, and eirth regrat.

That auld, untymelie,
Irrant, dolent Death
Hes stopit a breath,

¹ Serious matters ; no jokes or sport.

Sen yester day at morne,
 Of quhom my horne
 Sall vant ; quha ever be wrath,
 I will be laith
 To smoir¹ him, I have suorne.
 Quhill he wes heir, his name, be me, wes knawin
 Throw Britain boundis ; but now mair boundles
 blawin.

The hevin rejoyces
 At his gratfull gast,
 Quhom all the host
 Of angellis thair convoyit.
 The hellis are nocht,
 Sen Plutois beattis and boittis
 Are hoples lost,
 Thocht coastlie imployit.
 On earth ane sabill hew the sanctis bemone,
 Gryt spaittis of teiris² thair spend, caus he is gane.

Our Kirk, and cuntry
 Baith, hes lost a light.
 Nane schynit mair bricht
 In Kirk nor Polecie ;
 Sinceritie
 He socht with all his might ;
 His heartis delight
 In Chryst to live and die :
 And now maid be malanchollie, at last,
 Died in exyll, and given up the gost.

Sueit steiring streames,
 That posting spuris with speid
 In Ersk and Tueid,

¹ Smother or conceal his fame.

² Floods.

Now your Lord ye sie
 Cum furth with me
 Throw land with uncoth leid.
 Ye sall, indeid,
 Nobilitated¹ be.
 Beseidis the first his body gan to breath,
 And now the last maid famous be his deith.

Braid-walit² Berwick,
 Tueidis toune, famosit befor
 Throw many scoir
 Off mortall-myndit men ;
 Bot now we'll ken
 His death is ³ gained mair gloir
 Then ever befor,
 Thocht thowsandis in thee slain.
 Gife ⁴ cities stroave quha brocht to Homer breath,
 Then baldlie Berwick brag of sic a death.
 Giv cities sevin for Paganis birth contend,
 Then much mair Berwick famous, be his end !

VIATOR.

Now, now, I heir
 The man quhom of ye mein ;
 For lait yistrein,⁵
 As I my ludging tuik,
 Ane litill buik,
 Be me befor unsein,
 With oppin ein ⁶
 The leiffis ⁷ I overluk,
 Within quhilk lynis, in staitlie styll wes pen'd
 His famous factis, his hapie leif and end.

¹ Ennobled. "Virtus sola nobilitat."⁴ If.⁵ Last night.² Broad-walled.⁶ Eyes.³ For has.⁷ Leaves.

And sen I sie
 That he wes sic ane one
 Quhom I expone
 A perles¹ *A per se* ;
 Then Fame go fle,
 Thow sall not pas alone
 Him to bemone ;
 I'll beir ye companie.
 Go saill the sie, compas the Continent,
 Leirn, sie and land, his los for to lament !

Go throw the puir
 Protestant Kirk of France ;
 Schaw them the chance :
 Thence to Geneva toune,
 To Berna boune,
 Throw Cantonis² him advance ;
 To Cedar lance,³
 To Netherlandis goe doune :
 Tell his auld uncle and the banischit band⁴
 He is lanceit⁵ befor tham to the Holy Land !

Go throw the Germanis,
 Tell Prince Palatone,
 With weiping ein,
 Lament our los, alace !
 Proclame the cace.
 Schaw furth what thow hes sein
 To King and Quein :
 Schame not to schaw thy face.
 Spair not to speak, his praise to proclaime
 Throw all the world, to eternize his fame.

¹ Peerless, matchless.

² The Cantons of Switzerland.

³ Launch.

⁴ Mr Andrew Melvill and the banished Ministers.

⁵ Launched.

Syne schortlie boune
 Quhairever thow hes bein
 Or sall be sein,
 Quhill men heir lyvs be law,¹
 Thy bugall blaw.
 His garland gar grow grein.
 Caus him to schyne;
 Mak all the warld him knaw!

F A M A.

Throw out² all ageis trewlie I intend
 To schaw his leif, his exyll, and his end.

F I N I S.

Thais Verses wes written upon the tuentie-thrid day of December, in the yeir of God 1647 yeiris, and off my aige 14 yeiris.

¹ Until men live by law.

² Throughout.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Editor has much satisfaction in notifying to the Members of the WODROW SOCIETY, that some time after this Work was completed at press, and, indeed, far advanced in the hands of the binder, a small quarto Manuscript Volume, chiefly in the autograph of Mr James Melvill, has been purchased by David Laing, Esq., at the sale, in London, of the Library which belonged to the late George Chalmers, Esq., F. S. A., the well-known author of "Caledonia," &c. Immediately on the arrival of this Manuscript in Edinburgh, Mr Laing kindly communicated it to the Editor for examination; and although it cannot now be made fully available to the Society for the present Volumes, it is very gratifying to state that it completely establishes the authenticity of the Continuation of the Author's DIARY, for which, until now, there existed merely a very strong probability, nearly approaching to certainty, of its being the genuine production of our Author.

In a comparatively modern hand, the following title-page to this Manuscript has been supplied by some former proprietor, but which gives a most erroneous idea of its contents, and of our Au-

thor's office, as its compiler: "ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, FROM ANNO 1560 TO 1605, BY JAMES MELLVIL, THEIR SECRETARY." Mr James Melvill never was Secretary or Clerk to the General Assembly, and the Manuscript which has been recovered is, no doubt, the separate volume of Memoranda, to which the Author frequently refers in the course of his truly valuable Autobiography and Diary.

There is contained in that valuable volume copious abstracts of the proceedings of the General Assemblies during the period alluded to, with the Author's remarks; and occasionally there are inserted copies of documents founded on in the acts, or consequent on the various movements of parties in Church and State. Many of these are incorporated in the present Work; and it is interesting to remark that, in one of these instances, where a document is purposely omitted, Mr James Melvill thus briefly refers to his Autobiography: "Sic the Buik of my Lyfe." In another place, after describing the proceedings of the General Assembly in November 1602, he remarks: "Befoir the dissolving of this Assemblie, the penult sessione their of, thir tua heids following *I put in wrytt*, and presented them to the Assemblie; but they wer cast by, and na audience gevin to woord, nor accepting of wreate."

Had Melvill's MS. been acquired by Mr Laing a few months earlier, the Society would have had the advantage of the additional collation from it of the former part of the Continuation; and, perhaps, some few documents, to which the Author merely alludes in his Autobiography, might have been incorporated in these Volumes. It is believed, however, that no material omission occurs in the Uni-

versity's and Advocates' MSS. from which the whole of the Continuation was carefully compiled, although this Work might have been enriched by the insertion of additional papers from this authentic source.

But the most satisfactory and gratifying circumstance in connexion with the recovery of the Manuscript is, that it demonstrates that **THE CONTINUATION OF THE DIARY** of Mr James Melvill, which has been printed in the present Volumes, proceeded from his pen. The question, therefore, of the authenticity of the sources whence the MSS. of "**A TRUE NARRATIOUNE OF THE DECLYNEING AIGE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, from 1596 to 1610,**" which are preserved in the Libraries of the University of Edinburgh and Faculty of Advocates, have been derived, is thus for ever set at rest. It is fortunate that the proof of this fact has reached the Editor just in proper time to be announced previous to the present Work being issued to the Members of the Wodrow Society.

It is probable that Mr George Chalmers, the last owner, acquired the MS. at the sale of the Library of Joseph Ames, the Author of *Typographical Antiquities*, whose name is faintly stamped, in blank types, on one of the boards. From what quarter Ames procured the MS. cannot now be traced ; but it is likely, that after Melvill's death, his books and manuscripts were sold by his widow.

The Editor has also the pleasure of announcing that, on a second application to the Senate of the University of Glasgow, access has now been afforded to **WODROW'S LIFE OF MR RO-**

BERT BRUCE, to make such transcripts as may be thought advisable. It is, of course, unfortunately, now too late to apply for a similar leave in relation to his **LIFE OF MR JAMES MELVILL**, the present Volumes being nearly completed in the binder's hands; the Work, besides, having extended much further than was originally contemplated. This, however, is the less to be regretted, as it is understood, on good authority, that the materials collected by Wodrow are in this instance very meagre and unsatisfactory.

R. P.

EDINBURGH, 8th December 1842.

MR JAMES MELVILL'S DIARY.

M.D.LVI.—M.DC.I.

MR JAMES MELVILL'S DIARY.

THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

*At Anstruther, the 10 of August, in the Yeir^o of
the last Age, 1600.*

FORSAMIKLE as the corruption of man is readie, nocht onlie ungratlie to forget the benefittes of God, bot also most sacrilegiuslie to ascribe to tham selves the praise of anie thing commendable and weill done, I haiff thought it maist necessar to inregistrat, in this book, the warks of God for the ministrie of his worschipe, and salvation of his peiple within this congregation of Kilrynnie, for amendment of unthankfulnes, and remembring and steiring upe the hartes of all the members thair of to acknowlage fra tyme to tyme the graitnes of his cair, love, guidnes, and grace ; and that all thanks and praise may be giffen to his Majestie, all haill and alleanerlie.

In the yeir 1583, Mr Wilyeam Clark, of maist happie memorie for godlines, wesdome, and love of his flok, departed this lyff, leaving four congregationes, wharof he haid the charge, destitute of ministerie, viz. Abercrombie, Pittenweim, Anstruther, and Kilrynnie, whase desolat miserie was the mair that it fell in the yeirs of feirfull plagis and confusion bathe upon the Kirk and Comounweill ; to wit, the yeirs fourscore four, and fourscore fyve yeirs,¹ in the quhilk unhappie tyme Bischope Adamsone of St Androis, tyrannizing in the

¹ The years 1584 and 1585.

Kirk, obtrudit to thame ane of whome they lyked nathing, whase name I spair,¹ for the maist part; be occasion wharof thair enterit in very grait dissentioun in thair bowelles, quhilk vexed tham with anguise of mynd, grait peanes and expences, during the said twa yeirs, and mikle of the fourscore sax² also.

To the remead and composing wharof, supplicationes wer gevin in to the presbyterie of St Androis, of the mercie of God newlie erected and restored againe, whilk directed commissionars at dyvers tymes to visit the esteat of these kirks, and travell to draw the peiple's harts togidder in ane, and aggrie upon a pastour. Amangs the quhilk commissionars was James Melvill, ane of the Maisters of the Collage of Theologie; whase doctrine and dealling, when they haid hard and war acquainted withe, they condiseindit all in ane to crave at the presbyterie that his peanes might be imployed and continowed with thame, nocht onlie for composing of thair controversies, and reconceiling tham in Chryst, bot also for undertaking of a pastorall charge amangs tham; sa the said Mr James being earnestlie delt withall, bathe be the presbyterie and the congregatiounes, yeildit to the calling of God and his Kirk, and enterit in the simmer seaseone, in the monethe of July 1586, to teatche at the kirk of Anstruther, situat in the middes of the said congregatiounes.

It pleisit the Lord of the hervest to bliss his travells, sa that all debates and controversies amangs the congregatiounes, and within the bowelles of everie ane of thame, (quhilk war bothe grait and in number,) being taken upe and removit, with grait joy and comfort, the communion was ministrat in the kirks of Anstruther and Kilrynnie, in the spring-tyme of the yeir 1587.

Therefter, finding the four congregatiounes a burding intolerable and importable, with a guid conscience, whowbeit the said Mr James haid brought with him at the beginning a fellow-laborare, viz. Mr Robert Dury, yit nather could the said Mr Robert be provydit of a stypend, nather could they find tham selves able to discharge so grait a cair of saulles; therfor, the said Mr James sett him self cair-

¹ This alludes to Mr Robert Wood.

² The year 1586.

fullie for the separating and severall planting of the said congregatiounes, resolving to tak him self to Kilrynnie alean; and delt with Pittenweim, and causit thame prepeare ane auditorie and kirk within thair awin town, in the quhilk he teached to thame bathe on the Sabothe and ouk dayes,¹ nocht intermitting his ordinarie doctrines in the uther kirks, untill Pittenweim was provydit and planted with a minister of thair awin, and that without hurt or impearing of the stipend of the kirk of Anstruther Waster; the quhilk, be grait *fascherie*² and travell at the Plat, and dyvers actions of pley³ befor the Lords of Sessioun and Exchacker, be the special blessing of God, he haid augmented from fourscore pounds to a hunder lib., and thrie chalders victuall, with glebe and manse recovered and repeared. And sa Pittenweim being planted with Mr Nicol Dalgleishe, the said Mr James quyttes and resignes the said new purchassit stipend, with the kirk of Anstruther, gleib, and manse, to his fellow-laborar, Mr Robert Dury; and freithing⁴ him self of the charge bathe of Anstruther and Pittenweim, with all the stipend and commodities thair of, whowbeit disponit to him steadfastlie under the King's privie seall, and tuik him to the kirk of Kilrynnie alleanerlie.⁵

For soone thereafter⁶ the parochinars of Abercrombie aggredit with Mr Alexander Forsythe, and cravit of me their vicarage, with saxtein pounds money payit out of their teind scheaves, quhilk I haid also disponit to me for my lyfftime; bot I quyt all, in lyk maner, and incontinent efter admission of the said Mr Alexander to that ministerie, delyverit him my pices and rights of vicarage and stipend, togidder with the burding of the said peiple and congregation.

Now, in this mean tyme, the stipend of Kilrynnie was but fourscore lib. but⁷ ather gleib or manse; but God moved the peiple's hartes to have a cear⁸ of me, and mak me sufficient securitie of four hounder markes in stipend; the town of Anstruther Eister bund for the twa part, and the gentlemen to landwart for the thride, and

¹ Week-days.
ing, relieving.
noted "1589."

² Trouble. O. Fr. *fascherie*.

³ Law pleas.

⁴ Free-

⁵ Only, solely.

⁶ On the margin of the MS. the author has

⁷ Without.

⁸ Care.

fordar oblesit tham selves to big me a house upon a piece of ground, quhilk the Lard of Anstruther gaiff frielie for that effect. This was undertakin and begoun at Witsonday *in anno* 1590, bot wald never haiff bein perfyted, giff the bountifull hand of my God haid nocht maid me to tak the wark in hand my selff, and furnisched stranglie to my considderation all things neidfull ; sa that never ouk¹ past bot all sort of warkmen was weill peyit, never a dayes intermission fra the beginning to the compleitting of it, and never a soar finger during the haill labour. In Junie begoun, and in the monethe of Merche efter, I was resident therin. It exceides in expences the soum of thrie thowsand and fyve hounder marks ; and of all I haid nought of the paroche, bot about a thrie thowsand sleads² of steanes, and fourtein or fyftein chalder of lyme ; the stanes from the town, and lyme from the landwart, skarslie the half of the materialles, lyme and stean, and thairfor justlie I may call it a spectacle of God's liberalitie.

The hous being endit, and I resident thairin, I becam mikle in deat, and my familie thairwithall to increase ; for bearing the burding wharof I fand my four hounder marks to com far schort, joyning thairwithall a grait part thairoff unpleasandlie peyit, and out of tyme ; quhilk did cast me in grait heavines and perplexitie, sa that I was mightelie tempted to haiff abandonet this ministerie of Killyrinnie, and yeildit to maist earnest callings in uther places ; for Edinburgh, Sterling, Dondie, and St Androis also, haid divers tymes earnestlie dealt with me. Yit, finding my deir peiple's hartes, thair obedience to my ministerie, and the wounderfull blessing of God growing alwayes with me, I durst na wayes waver or mint away,³ bot stand stedfast in that roum⁴ and station wher he haid placed me ; and sa fand, in notable experience, the treuthe of Chrystes words, saying, "Seik first the kingdome of God and the righteousnes thairof, and the rest salbe castin in to yow." As to the grait

¹ Week. ² Sledges. At this period, all heavy carriages of this sort were performed in sledges, wheeled carts not being at that time in common use. Lighter loads were carried on pack-saddles.

³ Aim, or attempt to leave, or go away.

⁴ Place, situation.

glorie of his name I continow this narration; for the sam yeir 1590, meining¹ my self to the Plat, I gat fourscore pounds in augmentation, and the yeir following, maist easelie, by² expectatioun, four chalders of victuall: Sa I fand, be sure experience, that it was guid to len and giff to God, and nocht stand for his honour to quyt whatsumevir, for he wald repey twyse als guid, and nocht ly lang in na man's comoun.³ Whowbeit, alas! what can we giff him bot his awin? Bot behold yit the gopine.⁴

It pleased his grace, indeid, to twitche my conscience with a solist cear of my charge and flok, sa that whowbeit my distraction and occupatione war in grait and maist weghtie and necessar effeares of the Kirk, yit his fear sufferit me nocht to leave my peiple without daylie attendance and comfort; and sa, of unspeacable mercie and favour, the Lord steirit up a young man, indewing him with singular graces, and setting the cairfull affectioun of his hart to supplie my absence and weaknes, yea, as a fathfull yok-fellow to undertak the halff of my burding, viz. Mr Jhone Doig, in whase roun in the schole, the Lord send another youthe also of speciall godlines, and cear of Chryst's honour, and of the weill⁵ bathe of young and auld. Thir twa, my happie halff marrow⁶ (of whome I man wryt to the glorie of God, as he is witnes I do in all this rehersall, that sche evir haid als grait a cear of my calling as I haid my self, delyting above all things to sie the wark of God to grow and go fordwart, and esteiming that onlie rightlie and weill bestowit that was warit that way, neglecting and casting asyde the cair of provision for hir selff and childring, whowbeit now growing seikie and impotent) haid a speciall cair of, and delyt into for the helpe of my charge, bathe amanges the young and auld, and thairfor interteaned tham in houshould; sa that the burding of houshauling and deattes⁷ contracted in biging,⁸ with verie grait expences in the comoun effeares of the Kirk, wherin almaist the halff

¹ Making suit, or complaining to the Commissioners of the Plat.

to, beyond. ² Not lie long in any man's debt.

meaning an overflowing measure, a bountiful return.

literally half a pair, his "other half,"

⁷ Debts.

³ Contrary

⁴ Gossip, or handful; here

⁵ Welfare.

⁶ Wife,

⁸ Building.

of sum yeirs I was employed, maid me above sit equal at the yeir's end.

Bot my guid God and maister, whom I servit, and whaise turn and wark I haid in hand, provydit ane uther helpe, be a purpose and in a maner quhilk I could nocht haiff devysit nor luiked for. First, he moved the Lard of Anstruther to be willing to dispone and quyt the right of the teind fishes to the parochie and toun, ane or bathe, for the soun of thre thowsand marks, quhilk annes¹ being bestowit, might purchas a stedfast steipend to thair minister for ever. Nixt, when bathe toun and parochie haid refusit the blok,² it pleasit God to move the Lard to offer it to my selff a thowsand mark better scheape,³ to be acquyrit to me and myne. And God also put in my hart to accept of the blok ; bot nocht sacrilegiuslie to purchas a leiving to me or myne, of that quhilk sould sustein the ministerie of God's worschipe and salvation of the peiple, but to acquyere it for the sustentatioun of the ministerie of the town of Anstruther Ester. When we haid aggreit upon the blok for twa thowsand mark, the an halff to be peyit befor and at Mertimes *in anno* 1592, and the uther at Witsonday *in anno* 1593, I knew nocht whar nor whow to gett the soumes : I conveynit, thairfor, the haill Eldars of the parochie to brouche and land⁴ within the sessioun-hous in the kirk, and thair I maid them this offer ; to be content with my present leiving, and let the renew of the teind fishes be taken upe yeirlie, till twa thowsand marks and the profit war peyit comptlie, and thereafter to quyt tham thair augmentation, and tak me to my assignation and these teind fishes, to live upon and sustein a fellow-labourar with me, quhilk might be thairefter a constant provision for thair ministrie in all tyme to come. Manie schew⁵ guid will to the mater, when they saw that I was na way seiking my awin commoditie, bot the weill and provision of thair ministerie ; bot, in end and effect, as it feares with comoun turnes,⁶ when it cam to the preparing and debursing of soumes, it fealled.⁷ And then, giff it haid⁸

¹ Once.² Agreement, or bargain.³ At 1000 merks lower in price.⁴ Both burgh and landward.⁵ Shewed.⁶ As it fares in ordinary business transactions.⁷ Failed.⁸ If it had.

nocht pleasit God to move the hart of a speciall freind of myne (to whom I was regrating the mater, and to whome, in that ceas, the ministerie of Kilrynnie is mair behauldin nor to all the parochie and parochinars) to get me the soum I sould delyver at the first term, I wald haiff bein forcit to quait the blok againe, and left the purchas of the speciall moyen and provision of this ministerie, quhilk now, of the speciall gift and providence of God, is acquired unto it.

Now, the first termes soum being delyverit, and the Lardes right put in my hand, it could haiff avealit the ministerie na thing, unles I haid the tyle of the vicarage, quhilk was in Jhone Anstruther's possessioun, with whome it behoved me to blok of new againe for his dimissioun; the quhilk I did, and contented him with thrie hounder marks, and reservatioun of the dewtie of the Silverdyk. Sa yit I haid threttein hounder marks to delyver and purchas, for the quhilk I meined my self againe to my sessioun, and was compellit in end to sell tham my agmentatioun, quhilk they war bund to pey me yeirlie, to thair grait ease and my grait hurt, (war nocht thair ease culd nocht be my hurt, whase ease and weillfear in God was all my cair and respect in the mater;) for haiffand the town of Anstruther bund be sufficient contract in wrait to me for twa hounder marks yeirlie, during my ministerie, and the gentle men to landwart for a hounder, I quat tham bathe for thrie yeirs' dewtie, viz. nyne hounder marks; wharas, sen syne, I might haiff gottin of tham twyse samikle, and my right standing to the fore. The quhilk I wald nocht sa particularlie sett down, war nocht sum, forgetting them selves and the grait benefit of God, hes alleagit that they debursit soumes for acquyring of the teind fisches to the ministerie, quhilk is far from the treuthe; for, indeed, giff God haid nocht done that turn without their soumes or cair, thair haid skarslie bein a ministerie in Kilrynnie this day. And this I wryt nocht to impear the praise of guid men in the parochie, wharof I thank God thair is a guid number, and als weill affected as in the land agean, bot to repress the unwarrie ingratitude of sum that considderis nocht the bountifull guidnes of God, in the planting and preservation of thair ministerie.

Bot to return to the narration : With this nyne houndrethe marks, and four hounder of my brother-sonnes gear,¹ I satisfeit the next termes soun, and enterit be presentation, collation, and institution of the vicarage, as actuall minister in possession of the said teind fisches, and na way be the tytle receavit fra the Lard as tax-man,² to mak it cleir and sure that I sought the provision of the ministerie, and nocht a leiving to me and myne. Quhilk I sett down, partlie to stope the mouthes of calumniators, giving out my doing as a conquistaist of the kirk gear to me and myne ; partlie to resolve my warldlie frindes, who thinks I wald never be sa daft as to tak on soumes sa grait to acqyre and bring hame to the kirk hir teinds againe : Bot it is nocht the warlde, but my God, whome I seik to please, and I thank his bonte continualie, hes in sa doing fund mair of the warlde nor sic as hes done utherwayes,³ or ever I sought or luiked for. The hail expences of the proces and pices of the tytle lyand in a severall bust⁴ be tham selves in my lettron,⁵ I estimat to a houndrethe marks ; sa, in debursit money, the hail is to me four-and-twentie houndrethe marks.

The quhilk soun, by the speciall blessing of God, in the fischings I might haiff easelie utreade⁶ sen my first possessioun, giff the burding of my forsaidis fellow-laborar and scholmaister haid nocht lyen upon me, the grait expences of the comoun effeares of the kirk, and the lang and heavie disease of my wyff. Now, this my frind wald ask, What I haiff for my releiff of sic soumes ? I answer, the favour and providence of my guid God. For giff God spear my dayes, with rest in his Kirk, I hope he sall utreade all my deattes,⁷ that it may be left frie to the intrant ; giff nocht, and the intrant be worthie of the roum of this ministerie, God and his conscience will move him to pay the deat resting. Giff he will nocht, the greiff and loss will be graitter to haiff sic a man in that roum, nor of myne to pay my deattes, whowbeit they sell the books and plenessing for that effect. As for the bernies, giff they lern to be God's servantes and bernas,

¹ My nephew's money. ² As holding the tack or lease of the teinds. ³ Than those who have done otherwise. ⁴ Lying in a separate shuttle. ⁵ Reading desk. O. Fr. *lectron*. ⁶ "Outred," cleared off, discharged. ⁷ Debts.

he will provyde for tham as he hes done for me : giff nocht, (as God forbid !) they ar mair wordie to beg nor to bruik.¹ For my reward at the hands of God,² the Lord of his infinit mercie and grace friethe³ me from the just desert of my vyle sinnes, for the merit of the deathe and pretius bloode of his Sone, my Saviour, the Lord Jesus Chryst, wha is God over all, blessit for ever. For when all is done, as he and my conscience beares witnes against me, a maist wretched, vyle, unworthie servand in his sight, unles he behauld me in his Chryst, whas I am, and nocht my awin. And far be it fra me to glorie in anie thing bot his cross, wharby, wald to God, this warld war fullie crucified to me, and I to it.

As for the town and parochie, the benefitt indeid is thairs : Let tham thairfor, as I hope they will, consider thair dewtie in conscience befor thair God, to whome, for thair ministerie, I am suir they ar mair addettit nor anie parochie⁴ I knaw. The Lord mak tham to acknowlage it and be thankfull ! This onlie I beseik tham, for the mercies of Chryst, let never that be takin away or abusit from the right use quhilk God hes annes⁵ applyed it unto, sa far as may ly in thame, as they love the honour of God, and his worschipe to stand in the middes of tham, joynit with the salvation of thair saulles. And, namlie, I man⁶ earnestlie admomische the hous of Anstruther never to mein to acclame againe the tytle or possessioun of thay⁷ teinds, whowbeit they might find a corrupt and sacrilegius perjured persone to put in the roun, be whome they might gett a new sett⁸ and possessioun of thay teind fisches ; for I pronounce heir a curse and maledictioun from God upon whosoever sall intervert and draw away the commodities thair of from the right use of susteining of the ministerie of God's worschipe, and of the salvatioun of God's peiple's saulles within the town of Anstruther, and congregation of Kilrynnie ! And God forbid that ever that hous sould bring on it the feirfull effect of this curse, quhilk of dewtie I man love best of anie hous in the land.

¹ They deserve rather to beg than to enjoy or possess.

² "Nehem. v. ver. 19."

On margin of MS.

³ Free.

⁴ Than any parish.

⁵ Once.

⁶ Must.

⁷ These.

⁸ Lease.

In the yeir 1598, I cawsit print my Catechisme¹ for the profit of my peiple, and bestowit thairupon fyve hounder marks, quhilk God moved the hart of a maist godlie and loving frind to frilie offer to me, in len² for that effect. Of this I remean addettit, bot could never, to my knowlage, attein to a hounder marks again for the buiks.³

¹ An imperfect copy of this Catechism, which is now of great rarity, is preserved in the Advocates' Library. It is partly in prose and partly in verse; but the copy alluded to is so much mutilated, that no use can be made of it in the present work. The portion which is preserved chiefly consists of a "Propyne (gift or present) of a Pastor to his People."

² Loan.

³ This last paragraph seems to have been added by the Author at a later period than the present Introduction. The worthy Author appears to have lost 400 merks by this publication.

THE HISTORIE

OF

THE LYFF OF JAMES MELVILL.

Thow does manie things, O Jehova, my God. Thy merveals and thoughts toward us can nocht ordourlie be recompted before this; gif I wald set me to schaw and speak tham out, they ar mo in number then I can rehearse; Psalme xl. 6.

Thow art my hope, Lord Jehova; my confidence fra my bernhead.

I lean upon this from the wombe; from my mother's bowels thow cacht me; in this sall my praise be continualie.

Let my mouthe be filled with thy laude, even all the day with thy glorie.

Cast mie nocht away in my auld age; when my strainthe fealls mie, leave mie nocht; Psalme lxxi. 5, 6, 8, 9.

I will sing the mercies of the Lord for ever: with my mouthe will I declare thy treuthe from generation to generation; Psalme lxxxix. [1.]

O whow deir ar thy thoughts towards mie, O strong God! whow grait is the sounn therof!

I wald recount tham, bot they are ma then the sand: I wake that I may bie yit withe this; Psalme cxxxix. 17, 18.

I KNAWE a man in Chryst, brought from the wombe of his mother be God, the 25 day of the monethe July, (dedicat of auld to S. James the Apostle and Martyr,) in the yeir of our Lord 1556;¹ wha, for thankfulness of hart, to the praise and honour of his gratius God and deir father in Chryst, and for edification and comfort of his childring, and sic as sall reid the saming heirefter, is movit to sett down, in monument of wryt, the benefets of God bestowit on him sen his first conception and day of his birthe foremarked; sa far, at leist, as his weak understanding and freall memorie in maters that ar esteimed of importance can conceive and recompt. Whow-

¹ "My vnclie, Mr Andro, haulds that I was born in anno 1557." Margin of MS.

beit, as I haiff professed, in the words of the Psalme with David, that the smailest of his unknowin benefits passes the graittest reatche of my apprehension and utterance.

And, first, God wald haiff me begottin of godlie, fathfull, and honest parents, bathe lightned with the light of the gospell, at the first dawning of the day thair of within Scotland, knawing and believing that Covenant of Grace, and sa the seid of the fathfull, expreslie mentioned in that Covenant, quhilk assures mie of the benefit thair of, yea of that root and weal-spring of all his benefites, my eternall election in his Chryst befor the foundation of the warld. These parents, be name, war Richard Melvill of Baldowy, and Isobell Scrymgeour,^x sistar to the Lard of Glaswell for the tyme. My said father, brought upe in letters from his youthe, and gentlemanie effeares till he was past twentie yeirs of age, thereafter chosine pædagog to James Erskine appeirand of Donne, he past with him to Germanie, whar he remeaned at the studie of letters, namlie, Theologie; first with Doctor Macabeus, in Denmark, and thairefter a heirar of Philip Melancton in Wittenberg, be the space of twa yeirs. Of the grait mercie of God, haiffing the happe of sic maisters as war the graittest lights of that age within the cowntre, in the toun of Montrose, and companie of that Lard of Donne,¹ and the maist godlie, lerned, and noble Scots Martyre, Mr George Wyshart, and these nominat in Germanie. And the Lord blessing the seid sawin be tham in his hart, at last, soone efter the first Reformation of Religion, thrust him out into his hervest, and placed him Minister of his Evangell at the kirk of Mariton, a myle from Montrose, harde adjacent to his awin house and roun of Baldowy; in the quhilk he continowed fathfullie unto his lyffes end. He died the 53 yeir of his age, [in the moneth of Junie,²] anno 1575, in a icterik fevar,³ maist godlie; for efter manie most comfortable exhortationes maid to the noble and gentle men of the cowntre, wha all resorted to visit him during his disease, and to

¹ Jhone Areskin of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mernes. Margin of MS.

² What is within brackets is supplied on the margin of the MS.

³ Icterick or bilious fever; the jaundice. Fr. *fièvre icterique*.

his breither and frinds wha remeaned about him, about the verie hour of his deathe, he caused reid to him the 8 chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and immediatlie efter his brother, Mr James, minister of Arbrothe, asking him, what he was doing? Lifting upe eyes and handis toward heavin, with reasonable might of voice, he answerit, "I am glorifeing God for the light of his gospell, and resting in assurance of his sweit promises of lyff maid unto mie, in my Saviour, the Lord Jesus Chryst;" and na ma¹ intelligible words thairefter. He was a man of rare wesdome, judgment, and discretion; and, therfor, mikle imployed in the trysts and effeares of the noble and gentle men of the countrey, quhilk distracted him fra his calling, hinderit his vertew, and schortened his lyff. The recompence quhilk he had was estimation and affection of all. Ther was nane of his rank, and verie few above it, that was sa honored and loven as he; quhilk kythed² specialie at his buriall, and hes bein often tauld me be men of all degries sen syne.

My mother died about a thrie quarters, or at least within a yeir, efter I was born; a woman exceidinglie belovit of hir housband's frinds and nibours. I haiff divers tymes hard, when my father-breither Roger, Jhone, Mr James and Robert, could nocht satisfie tham selves in comending hir godlines, honestie, vertew, and affection toward thame. And I haiff often hard Mr Andro say, that he being a bern verie seiklie, was maist lovinglie and tenderlie treated and cared for be hir, embrasing him and kissing him oftentimes, with these words, "God giff me an uther lad lyk thie, and syne tak me to his rest!" Now sche haid haid twa laddies befor me, wharof the eldest was dead; and betwix him and the second, sche bure thrie lasses; sa, in end, God granted hir desyre, and gaiff hir an, wha wald to God he war als lyk to Mr Andro in gifts of mynd as he is thought to be in proportion of bodie and lineaments of face; for ther is nane, that is nocht utherwayes particularlie informed, bot taks me for Mr Andro's brother.

The nixt benefit is of my education, till I cam to the age of a

¹ He uttered no more.

² Which was made manifest.

man, and entered in my calling, wharin als manie moments, als manie benefits ; bot the maist remarkable, to my judgement and memorie, I will record. And first, in generall, to the praise of my heavinlie parent, I man confess, with David, " My mother has now left mie, bot Jehova hes receavit mie ;" and with Esai, " The mother hes forgot the fruit of hir wombe, bot the Lord hes rememberit me alwayes !" I haid an evill-inclyned woman to my nuris ; thereafter speaned¹ and put in a cottar hous, and about four or fyve yeir auld brought hame to a step-mother ; yit a verie honest burges of Montros² hes oft tauld me, that my father wald ley me down on my bak, pleying with mie, and lauche at mè because I could nocht ryse, I was sa fatt ; and wald ask mie what ealed mie : I wald answer, " I am sa fatt I may nocht geang." And trewlie sen my remembrance, I cam never to the place bot God moved sum an with a motherlie affection towardis me. About the fyft yeir of my age, the Grate Buik was put in my hand, and when I was seavine, lytle thair-of haid I lernit at hame ; therfor my father put my eldest and onlie brother, David, about a year and a halff in age above me, and me togidder, to a kinsman and brother in the ministerie of his, to scholl, a guid, lerned, kynd man ; whome for thankfulnes I name, Mr Wilyam Gray, minister at Logie-Montrose. He haid a sistar, a godlie and honest matron, rewar of his hous, wha often rememberit me of my mother, and was a verie loving mother to us, indeid. Ther was a guid nomber of gentle and honest men's bernis of the cowntrey about, weill treaned upe bathe in letters, godlines, and exerceise of honest geames.³ Ther we lerned to reid the Catechisme, Prayers, and Scripture ; to rehers the Catechisme and Prayers *par ceur* ; also nottes of Scripture, efter the reiding thair of ; and ther first I fand, (blysed be my guid God for it !) that Sprit of sanctification beginning to work sum motiones in my hart, even about the aught and nynt yeir of my age ; to pray going to bed and rysing, and being in the fields alan⁴ to say ower the prayers I haid lernit with a sweit moving in my hart ; and to abhore swearing, and rebuk and com-

¹ Weaned.² " Robert Clark," supplied by the author on the margin.³ Games, sports, exercises.⁴ Alone.

plean upon sic as I hard swear. Wherunto the exemple of that godlie matron, seiklie, and giffen to read and pray in hir bed, did mikle profit me ; for I ley in hir chamber and heard hir exerceses. We lerned ther the Rudiments of the Latin Grammair, withe the vocables in Latin and Frenche ; also dyverse speitches in Frenche, with the reiding and right pronounciation of that tounge. We proceedit fordarto the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer ; therwith was joyned Hunter's Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus, and sum of the Ecloges of Virgill and Epistles of Horace ; also Cicero his Epistles *ad Terentiam*. He haid a verie guid and profitable form of resolving the authors ; he teatched grammaticallie, bathe according to the Etymologie and Syntax ; bot as for me, the trewth was, my ingyne and memorie war guid aneuche, bot my judgment and understanding war as yit smored¹ and dark, sa that the thing quhilk I gat was mair be rat ryme nor knowlage.² Ther also we haid the aire guid, and fields reasonable fear, and be our maister war teached to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to loope, to swoom, to warsell,³ to preve pratteiks, everie ane haiffing his matche and andagonist, bathe in our lessons and play. A happie and golden tyme, indeid, giff our negligence and unthankfullnes haid nocht moved God to schorten it, partlie be deceying of the number, quhilk caused the maister to weirie, and partlie be a pest quhilk the Lord, for sinne and contempt of his Gospell, send upon Montrose, distant from Over Logie bot twa myles ; sa that scholl skalled,⁴ and we war all send for and brought hame. I was at that scholl the space of almost fyve yeirs, in the quhilk tyme, of publict news I remember I hard of [the mariage of Hendrie and Marie, King and Quein of Scots,⁵] Seingnour Davie's slauchter,⁶ of the King's mourder at the Kirk of Field, of the Quein's taking at Carbarri, and the Langsyd feild. Wherof reid Mr Bowchannan Cornicle, lib. 17, 18, 19.

¹ Smothered, obscure.² Was more by rote than knowledge.³ Wrestle.⁴ "Skilled," was dismissed.⁵ This supplied on margin of MS.⁶ The murder of Riccio, then usually styled "Signior Davie."

Even at that tyme, me thought the heiring of these things moved me, and stak in my hart with sum joy or sorrow, as I hard they might helpe or hender the Relligion : Namelie, I remember the ordour of the fast keipit *in anno* 1566 ; the evill handling of the ministerie be taking away of their stipends ; for Mr James Melvill, my uncle, and Mr James Balfour, his cusing-german, bathe ministers and stipendles, with guid, godlie, and kynd Patrick Forbes of Cors. The Lard of Kinnaber, and the godlie and zealus gentlemen of the countrey, partlie for thair berness' cause, and partlie for that notable instrument in the Kirk of Scotland, Jhone Erskine of Done, Superintendent of Merns and Angus, his residence in Logy at certean tymes, did oftentimes frequent our hous, and talk of sic maters. Also, I remember weill whow we past to the head of the muir to sie the fyre of joy¹ burning upon the stiple head of Montrose, [at the day of the King's birthe.²] These things I mark for the grait benefit of that place and companie, wherin the Lord wald haiff me treaned upe in my first and tender age.

Now, when my brother and I war come hame, our father examined us, and was glad to sie that we had profited reasonable : Nevertheless, the estate of the countrey was sa uncertain and troublesome, the moeyen he haid (wanting his awin stipend, and helping diverse that wanted of his breithring) bot mean and small, and the occasione of scholles nocht serving, we remeaned a wintar at hame, rememberit of our buiks bot now and then, as our father haid leaser, quhilk was bot verie seindle.³ Yit the Lord sufferit nocht that tyme to be fruittles nather, bot I remember therin twa benefites ; ane the reiding of the Storie of the Scripture that wintar, quhilk stak in my mynd ; and of David Lindsayes book, quhilk my eldest sistare, Isbel, wald reid and sing, namlie, concerning the letter judgment, the peanes of hell, and the joyes of heavin, wherby scho wald caus me bathe greit and be glad. I lovit hir, therfor, exceiding deirlye, and scho me by⁴ the rest. Scho schew me a⁵ day, amangs uthers, a ballet sett out in print against ministers, that for want of stipend left thair charge, beginning—

¹ Bonfire. ² On margin of MS. ³ Seldom, rarely. ⁴ More than. ⁵ One.

Who so do put hand to the pleuche,
 And therfra bakward goes ;
 The Scripture maks it plean aneuche,
 My kingdom is nocht for those, &c.

With this scho burst furthe in teares, and sayes, "Alas ! what will com of thir at that letter day ? God keip my father, and Mr James Melvill, and Mr James Balfour, fra this !" And efter, cryes out the verses of Davie Lindsay :—

Alas ! I trimble for to tell
 The terrible torments of the hell ;
 That peanful pit who can deplore ?
 Quhilk sall endure for evermore.

With hir speitches and teares sche maid me to quak and chout bitterlie, quhilk left the deipest stampe of God's fear in my hart of anie thing that ever I haid hard befor. I was giffen to a bernlie evill and dangerus use of pyking ;¹ the quhilk sche perceaving, of purpos gaiff me the credit of the key of hir kist,² and haiffing sum small silver in a lytle schottle, I tuk sum of it, thinking sche sould not haiff misset it. Bot be that occasion sche enterit sa upon me with sa soar threatnings, and therwithall sa sweit and loving admonition and exhortations, that I thank thie, my God, I absteinit from it all my dayes thereafter ; and wherever I was, giff I could haiff gotten anie thing to by, worthie of hir, I was accustomed to send it hir, [in taken of our affectioun,³] sa lang as sche leivit. This benefit I haid of God, by hir meanes, that wintar, for inress of his fear and honestie of lyff.

The uther was for civill conversation and prudence. My father, that wintar, put in our hands Palingenius, wherin he deltyed mikle him self ; injoyning to us, at his rydings fra ham, to lern sa manie verses *par ceur*. Therby I lernt weill, and ever keipit in memorie,

¹ Committing petty thefts, pilfering.

² Chest.

³ Margin of MS.

for daylie practise sen syne, these precepts for winning of heartes, concieiliating of affectiones, and peacable conversation, quhilk he hes in Cancro from these verses following to the end of the buik :—

Quicunque ergo cupit multum dum vivit amari
Aut studeat delectare, aut prodesse, vel in se
Virtutes habeat, quas compelluntur et ipsi
Commendare mali, et quamvis odere, verentur, &c.

Onlie a' thing in the end, (quhilk he wald nocht haiff us to lern,) for subtill revenge is nocht Christian, bot yit maist neidfull to be market, it is sa in use in the warld in this our age, and esteimed a mean point of prudence :

Nimirum magna est prudentia vincere blande,
Atque animi ad tempus pressum cœlare dolorem.

Machiavel him selff could nocht haiff prescryvit it sa weill as I haiff knawin it practised in this countrey ; and as yit it is working on : God mak us simple as doves, and wyse as serpents ! I thank God fra my heart, that maid me to ken it fra my youthe to be war of it, bot nocht to use it, as I bles my Chryst I deteast all revenge as devillrie, and namlie serpentine.

About the spring tyme, my father resolved to keipe my eldar brother at hame withe him, to lern him housbandrie and experience of the warldlie lyff, now almost past from the age of bernheid ;² and to send me to the scholl againe for a yeir or twa, that thereafter he might acquent me also with housbandrie, and prepear for me a roum ;³ and that becaus he nather saw the meanes to mak us attein to sic lerning as we might live upon, nor when we haid gottin it, anie sure interteinment in the countrey for it. Sa I was put to the scholl of Montrose ; finding, of God's guid providence, my

¹ One.² Childhood.³ A small farm.

auld mother, Marjorie Gray, wha parting from hir brother at his marriage, haid taken upe hous and scholl for lasses in Montrose; to hir I was welcome againe as her awin sone. The maister of the scholl, a lerned, honest, kynd man, whom also for thankfulnes I name, Mr Andro Miln;¹ he was verie skilfull and diligent. The first yeir he causit us go throw the Rudiments againe, thairefter enter and pas throw the first part of Grammer of Sebastian; thair-with we hard Phormionem Terentii, and war exerceisd in composition; efter that entered to the second part, and hard thairwith the Georgics of Virgill, and dyvers uther things. I never get a strak of his hand, whowbeit I comitted twa lurd² faultes, as it war with fyre and sword: Haiffing the candle in my hand on a wintar night, befor sax hours, in the scholl, sitting in the class, bernlie and negligentlie pleying with the bent,³ it kendlet sa on fyre, that we haid all ado to put it out with our feit. The uther was being molested by a condisciple, wha cutted the stringes of my pen and ink-horn with his pen-knyff, I minting⁴ with my pen-knyff to his legges to fley him; he feared, and lifting now a lag, now the uther,⁵ rasht on his lag upon my knyff, and strak him self a deipe wound in the schin of the lag, quhilk was a quarter of a yeir in curing. In the tyme of the trying of this mater, he saw me sa humble, sa feared, sa greived, yeild sa manie teares, and by fasting and murning in the scholl all day, that he said he could nocht find in his hart to punishe me fordar. Bot my righteous God let me nocht slipe that fault, bot gaiff me a warning, and remembrance what it was to be defyld with blude, whowbeit negligentlie; for within a short space efter I haid causit a cutlar, new com to the town, to polishe and scharpe the sam pen-knyff, and haid bought a pennie-worthe of aples, and cutting and eatting the sam in the Linkes, as I put the cheive⁶ in [my] mouthe, I began to lope upe upon a litle sandie bray, haiffing the pen-knyff in my right hand, I fell, and thairwithe strak my self, miss-

¹ "Minister of Fedresso." Margin of MS. ² Clumsy, stupid, awkward. Fr. *lourd*.

³ It was usual to strew the floors with rushes or *bent*-grass, in winter, as we use carpets. This custom was also prevalent in England, as well as in foreign countries. ⁴ Aiming at. ⁵ Now one leg, now the other. ⁶ "Shave," or slice.

ing my wombe, an inche deipe in the inwart syde of the left knie, even to the bean,¹ wherby the æquitie of God's judgment and my conscience strak me sa, that I was the mair war of knyffes all my dayes.

In Montrose was Mr Thomas Andersone, minister, a man of mean gifts, bot of singular guid lyff. God moved him to mark me, and call me often to his chalmer to treat me, when he saw anie guid in me, and to instruct and admonish me utherwayes. He desyrit me ever to rehearse a part of Calvin's Catechisme on the Sabothes at efternoone, because he hard the peiple lyked weill of the clearnes of my voice, and pronouncing with sum feiling; and thairby God moved a godlie honest matron in the town to mak mikle of me thairfor, and called me hir lytle sweit angle. The minister was able to teatche na offer but annes in the ouk;² but haid a godlie honest man reidar,³ wha read the Scripture distinctlie, and with a religius and devot feilling; wherby I fand my selff movit to giff guid eare, and lern the Stories of Scripture, also to tak plesure in the Psalmes, quhilk he haid almost all by hart, in prose. The Lard of Done, mentioned befor, dwelt oft in the town, and of his charitie intertein-ed a blind man, wha haid a singular guid voice; him he causit the doctor of our scholl teatche the wholl Psalmes in miter, with the tones thairof, and sing tham in the kirk; be heiring of whome I was sa delyted, that I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones thairof in miter, quhilk I haiff thought ever sen syne a grait blessing and comfort. The exerceise of the ministerie was keipit ouklike then in Montrose, and thair assemblies ordinarlie; quhilk when I saw I was movit to lyk fellon weill⁴ of that calling, bot thought it a thing unpossible that ever I could haiff the abilitie to stand up and speak when all helde thair tounge and luiked, and to continow speaking alean⁵ the space of an houre. Ther was also ther a post,⁶ that frequented Edinbruche, and brought ham Psalme buikes and ballates; namlie, of Robert Semple's making, wherin I tuik pleasour, and lernit sum

¹ Bone.² Once in the week.³ "Jhone Beatie." Margin of MS.⁴ Extremely well. This word was in frequent use as a superlative.⁵ Alone.⁶ A carrier or messenger. "John Finheavin." Margin of MS.

thing bathe of the esteat of the countrey, and of the missours and cullors of Scottes ryme. He schew me first Wedderburn's Songs, wharof I lerned diverse *par ceur*, with great diversitie of toones. He frequented our scholl, and of him also I lerned to understand the Calender, efter the commoun use thairrof.

And, finalie, I receavit the comunion of the bodie and blud of the Lord Jesus Chryst first at Montrose, with a graitter reverence and sence, in my saull, then oft thairefter I could find, in the 13 year of my age; whar, coming from the table, a guid honest man, ane eldar of the kirk,¹ gaiff me an admonition concerning lightnes, wantonnes, and nocht takin tent² to the preatching and word read, and prayers, quhilk remeaned with me ever sen syne. Sa God maid everie persone, place, and action, to be my teatchers; bot, alas! I used tham never sa fruitfullie, as the guid occasiones servit, bot was caried away in vanitie of mynd with young and fullishe conceattes, quhilk is the heavie challange of my conscience. The tyme of my being in Montrose was about twa yeirs, during the quhilk the comoun newes that I hard was of the grait praises of the government; and, in end, the heavie mean³ and pitiful regrat, amangs men in all esteatts, for the traiterus murdour of James Earl of Murro, called the Guid Regent, anent the quhilk, sie the 19 book of the fornamed Cornicle.⁴

M.D.LXXI.

The esteat of Montrose schol changit, be occasion of the master's taking of him to the ministerie, I cam hame to Baldowy about the Lambes,⁵ in anno 1571. The fourtein yeir of my age, now expyred, whar my father setts me about the hervest-labour, wherin I haid litle pleasour; for whowbeit I spendit nocht the tyme sa fructfullie as I might at scholl, yet I lyked the schollar's lyff best; bot my father held us in sic aw, that we durst nocht reasone with him, bot his will was neidfull obedience to us. Sa to the glorie of my God, I re-

¹ "Richart Anderson, brother to the former, Mr Thomas Anderson." Margin of MS.

² Not bestowing attention.

³ Moaning, lamentation.

⁴ Alluding

to Buchanan's History, quoted above.

⁵ Lammas, 1st August.

member a certean day my father send me to the smeddy¹ for dressing of hewkes² and sum yron instruments, the way lying hard by Marie-kirk, wherin my father pretched, I begoude³ to weirie soar of my lyff; and as my coustome haid bein fra my bernheid to pray in my hart, and mein my esteat to my God, coming fornent the kirk, and luiking to it, the Lord steirit upe an extraordinar motion in my hart, quhilk maid me atteans, being alean,⁴ to fall on gruiff⁵ to the ground, and pour out a schort and earnest petition to God, that it wald please his guidnes to offer occasion to continow me at the scholles, and inclyne my father's hart till use the saming;⁶ with promise and vow, that whatever missour of knowlage and letters he wold bestow on me, I sould, by his grace, imploy the saming for his glorie in the calling of the ministerie; and rysing from the ground with joy and grait contentment in hart, again fell downe and worschipped, and sa past on and did the earand, retourning and praising my God, singing sum Psalmes. Within a few dayes thairefter, Mr James Melvill, my uncle, comes to Baldowy, and brings with him a godlie lernit man, named Mr Wilyeam Collace, wha was that sam yeir to tak upe the class as first regent of St Leonard's Collage, within the Universitie of St Andros; efter conference with whome that night, God moves my father's hart to resolve to send me that sam yeir to the Collage. Trew it was, I was bot weaklie groundit in grammar, and young of yeirs; yit the lovingnes of the gentleman, and promise of the benefeit of a bursare's place, and of taking peanes on me, maid the mater to go fordwart; wherof, when I was informed be my said uncle, and haid sein and spoken a lytle with the man, Rebecca was never blyther to go with the servant of Abraham, nor I was to go with him. And trewlie this finding of God, at a neid, was the beginning of a ritche treassour of the pruiff of his providence, mercie, and grace, continowallie increassing sen syne, that I wald nocht giff for ten thowsand warlds.

Sa I cam to St Androis about the first of November, in the for-said yeir 1571, and enterit in the course of Philosophie, under the

¹ Smithy.
alone.

² Reaping hooks, sickles.
⁵ Prostrate.

³ Began.

⁶ Same.

⁴ At once, being

regenterie of the said Mr Wilyeam, wha haid the estimation of the maist solide and lernit in Aristotle's Philosophie. And first hard under him Cassander his Rhetorik; but at the beginning, nather being weill groundet in grammer, nor com to the yeirs of naturall judgment and understanding, I was cast in sic a greiff and dispear, because I understood nocht the regent's langage in teatching, that I did nothing bot bursted and grat¹ at his lessones, and was of mynd to haiff gone ham agean, war nocht the luiffing cear of that man comforted me, and tuik me in his awin chalmer, causit me ly with him selff, and everie night teatched me in privat, till I was acquented with the mater.² Then he gaiff us a compend of his awin of Philosophi and the partes thairof; of Dialectik, of Definition, of Division, of Enunciation, and of a Syllogisme Enthymen, and Induction, &c.; quhilk I thought I understuid better. About the quhilk tyme my father coming to the town, begoude³ to examine me, and finding sum beginning was exceidinglie rejoyisit, and uttered sweittar affection to me then ever before. He interteined my regent verie hartlie in his ludging, and gaiff him grait thanks. He send me to him, efter he haid taken leive, with twa piece of gold in a neapkin; bot the gentleman was sa honest and loving, that he wald haiff non of his gold, but with austere countenance send me bak with it, na never wald receive gold nor silver all the tyme of my course. We enterit in the Organ of Aristotle's Logics that yeir, and lernit till the Demonstrations. He haid a lytle boy that servit him in his chamber, called David Elistone, wha, amangs threttie-and-sax scholars in number, (sa manie war we in the class,) was the best. This boy he causit weat on me, and confer with me; whase ingyne and judgment past me als far in the wholl course of philosophie, as the aigle the howlet.⁴ In the multiplication of Propositiones, Medalles, Conversion of Syllogismes, Pons Asinorum, etc., he was als read as I was in telling an-and-threttie. This I mark for a speciall cause of thankfulness following.

¹ Sobbed and wept.
gin of MS.

³ Began.

² "We hard the Oration, Pro Rege Deiotaro." Mar-

⁴ As the eagle the owl.

Bot of all the benefites I haid that yeir was the coming of that maist notable profet and apostle of our nation, Mr Jhone Knox, to St Androis; wha, be the faction of the Quein occupeing the castell and town of Edinbruche, was compellit to remove thairfra with a number of the best, and chusit to com to St Androis. I hard him teatche ther the prophecies of Daniel that simmer, and the wintar following. I haid my pen and my litle book, and tuk away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening upe of his text he was moderat the space of an halff houre; bot when he enterit to application, he maid me sa to grew¹ and tremble, that I could nocht hald a pen to wryt. I hard him oftymes utter these threthenings in the hicht of their pryde, quhilk the eis of monie saw cleirlye brought to pass within few yeirs upon the Captean of that Castle, the Hamiltones, and the Quein hir selff. He ludgit down in the Abbay besyde our Collage; and our [Primarius, Mr James Wilkie, our²] Regents, Mr Nicol Dalgleise, Mr Wilyeam Colace, and Mr Jhone Davidsons, went in ordinarlye to his grace efter denner and soupper. Our Regent taried all the vacans³ to heir him, whowbeit he haid urgent effeares of his brother-sonnes to handle, to whom he was tutor. Mr Knox wald sum tymes com in and repose him in our Collage yeard, and call us schollars unto him and bless us, and exhort us to knaw God and his wark in our contrey, and stand be the guid cause, to use our tyme weill, and lern the guid instructiones, and follow the guid exemple of our maisters. Our hail Collage, maisters and schollars, war sound and zelus for the guid cause. The uther twa Collages nocht sa; for in the New Collage, whowbeit Mr Jhone Dowglass, then Rector, was guid aneuche; the thrie uther maisters and sum of the Regentes war evill myndit, viz. Mrs Robert, Archbald and Jhone Hamiltons, (wharof the last twa becam efter apostates,) hated Mr Knox and the guid cause; and the Commissar, Mr Wilyeam Skein, could nocht lyk weill of his doctrine. The Auld Collage was rewlit be Mr Jhon Ruther-

¹ Shudder.² Margin of MS.³ Vacation.

furd, then Dean of Facultie, a [man lernit in philosophie, bot¹] in-vyus, corrupt. This I mark for the setting furthe of the benefit I receavit in the Collage and companie I was into. The public newes I hard that yeir was of the Engliss armie that cam in under the conduct of Mr Druri, and brunt and slew throuhout Chiddisdall and all the dominiones of the Hamiltons, for the slauchter of the Guid Regent. They brunt the castell, and palice, and town of Hamiltone, and caried away grait pray; they wracked all the Borders wast and est, and tuik the castell of Hume. Also Mathew Stewart, Erle of Lennox, was schosine Regent, wha that hervest cam to Breachine, beseigit the castell thairof, haldin be the suddarts² of the Erl of Hountlie, compellet tham to rander, and hangit threttie thairof, quhilk was callit "the Bourde of Breachine."

[This yeir, in the monethe of July, Mr Jhone Davidstone, an of our Regents, maid a play at the mariage of Mr Jhone Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr Knox presence; wherin, according to Mr Knox doctrin, the Castle of Edinbruche was beseiged, takin, and the Captan, with an or twa with him, hangit in effigie.³]

M.D.LXXII.

The second yeir of my course, we hard the Demonstrations, the Topika, and the Sophist Captiones. And the Primarius,⁴ a guid, peacable, sweit auld man, wha luiffed me weill, teacht the four speaces of the Arithmetik, and sum thing of the Sphere; bot the graittest benefit I had of him was his daylie doctrine at the prayers in the kirk, everie morning; for he past throw the twa buiks of Samuel, and twa of the Kings, very pleantie and substantiualie, quhilk I rememberit the better ever since. He causit sing commonlie the 44 and 79 Psalmes, quhilk I lernit *par cœur*, for that was the yeir of the bludie massacres in France, and grait troubles in this countrey, the warres betwix Leithe and Edinbruche being verie hat. The Castel of Dumbarten was notablie tean,⁵ and Jhone Hamilton, Bischope of St Androis, hangit.

¹ Margin of MS.

² Soldiers.

³ Supplied on margin of MS.

⁴ "Mr James Wilkie." Margin of MS.

⁵ Taken.

In the monethe of August, "the Blak Parliament" of Stirling haldin,¹ whar the second Regent was slean, in Wolmistonnes armes, &c., vide Buchan. Chro.²

M.D.LXXIII.

The thrid yeir of our course, we hard the fyve buikis of the Ethiks, with the aught buikis of the Physiks, [and *De Ortu et Interitu*.³] That yeir we haid our Bachlar art, according to the solemnities then used of declamations, banqueting, and playes. And in the mean tyme thairrof, my father married my said eldest sistar Isbell, and second, Marjorie, bathe on a day; bot efter that festing, we gat hard newes of the defeat of the Forbesses at the Crabstean, besyd Aberdein.

M.D.LXXIV.

The fourt and last yeir of our course, quhilk was the 17 yeir of my age outpast, and 18 rinning, we lerned the buikis de Cœlo and Mateors, also the Spher, more exactlie teachit be our awin Regent, and maid us for our Vicces and Blakstens, and haid at Pace⁴ our promotion and finissing of our course. The beginning of this yeir was also maist duffull to me, by the departour of my deirest sistar Isbell, wha died of hir first bern; in whom I lossit my naturall mother the second tyme.

[The ordour of four kirks to a minister, then maid be the Erl of Morton, now maid Regent; against the quhilk Mr Jhone David-sone, an of the Regents of our Collage, maid a buik called the "Conference betwix the Clark and the Courtieur;" for the quhilk he was summoned befor the Justice-ear at Hadinton this wintar, the last of our course, and banished the cowntrey.⁵]

In the thrid and fourt yeirs of my course, at the direction of my father, I hard the Comissar, Mr Wilyeam Skein, teatche Cicero de Legibus, and divers partes of the Institutiones of Justinian. I was

¹ "The parliament was baldin in August 1571, before I cam to the Universitie." Margin of MS. ² Buchanan's History of Scotland. ³ Margin. ⁴ Pasch, Easter. ⁵ This paragraph is also supplied from the margin of the MS.

burdet in the hous of a man of law, a very guid honest man, Andro Greine be nam, wha lovit me exceiding weill ; whase wyff also was ane of my mothers. I am sure sche haid nocht sone nor bern sche loved better. This lawier tuk me to the Consistorie with him, whar the Comissar wald tak pleasour to schaw us the practise, in judgment, of that quhilk he teatched in the scholles. He was a man of skill and guid conscience in his calling, lernit and diligent in his profession, and tuk delyt in na thing mair nor to repeat ower and ower again to anie schollar that wald ask him the thingis he haid bein teatching. Lykwayes my ost, Andro, acquetit me with the formes of summonds and lybelling, of contracts, obligatiounes, actes, &c. ; but my hart was nocht sett that way.

Mairower, in these yeirs I lerned my music, wherin I tuk grait-ter delyt, of an¹ Alexander Smithe, servant to the Primarius of our Collage, wha haid been treaned upe amangis the mounks in the Abbay. I lerned of him the gam, plean-song,² and monie of the treables of the Psalmes, wherof sum I could weill sing in the kirk ; bot my naturalitie and easie larning by the ear maid me the mair unsolide and unreadie to use the forme of the art. I lovit singing and playing on instruments passing weill, and wald gladlie spend tyme whar the exerceise thair of was within the Collage ; for twa or thrie of our condisciples played fellow weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn. Our Regent haïd also the pinalds³ in his chalmer, and lernit some thing, and I eftir him ; bot perceaving me ower mikle caried efter that, he dishanted and left of. It was the grait mercie of my God that keipit me from anie grait progress in singing and playing on instruments ; for, giff I haid attained to anie reasonable missure thairin, I haid never don guid utherwayes, in respect of my amorus disposition, wherby Sathan sought even then to deboiche me ; bot my God gaiff me a piece of his fear, and grait naturall shamfastness, quhilk by his grace war my preservatives. Als I haid my necessars honestlie aneuche of my father, bot nocht els ; for archerie and goff, I haid bow, arrose, glub and bals, but nocht a

¹ One.² The gamut and plain-song or tenor.³ The spinet. Fr. *espinet*.

purs for catchpull¹ and tavern ; sic was his fatherlie wisdom for my weill. Yit now and then I lernit and usit sa mikle bathe of the hand and racket catche as might serve for moderat and halsome exerceive of the body.

I wald haiff gladlie bein at the Greik and Hebrew touns, because I red in our Byble that it was translated out of Hebrew and Greik ; bot the langages war nocht to be gottine in the land. Our Regent begoud and teatched us the A, B, C, of the Greik, and the simple declintiones, bot went no farder. Be that occasion he tauld me of my uncle Mr Andro Melvill, whom he knew in the tyme of his course in the Nèw Collage to use the Greik Logics of Aristotle ; quhilk was a wounder to tham that he was sa fyne a schollar, and of sic expectation. This maid me inquiry for Mr Andro, when I cam ham, the second and thrid yeir of our course ; bot my father and Mr James schew me they fearit he was dead, because of the grait civill warres in France, and that they hard he was in Poictears beseiged ; that it wasaught or nyne yeirs sen he past to France, and four or fyve yeirs sen they gat anie letters or word from him. This twitched my hart wounder soar, in respect of the grait comendation I hard of him be my Regent and diverse uthers. Bot soon efter, about the middes of our thrid yeir, Alexander Young cam ham from Genev, from his uncle, and my neir kinsman, Mr Henrie Scrymgour, of honourable memorie, with sum propynes² to the King, and letters to Mr George Bowchanan and Mr Piter Young, that an the King's maister, that uther his pædagog ; and amangs the rest brought letters from the said Mr Andro to my father, and his brother Mr James ; and thairwithall word of his weillfear and singular estimation in Genev, whar he haid four yeirs professit. Of these newes my hart was exceiding glade, and the said Alexander being with all diligence to return againe to Genev, I haid a letter in readines pennit at lainthe in Latin, the best I could, quhilk I delyverit to my cousing Alexander, wha within a twa monethes put it in the hands of my said uncle Mr Andro. And he tauld me at meitting,

¹ Also termed *catch-peill*, a sort of game of tennis or rackets.

² Presents.

and oft sen syne, it was a speciall motion of his ham-coming, then the quhilk, I, nor Scotland nather, receavit never a graitter benefit of the hands of God, as will better appeir heirefter.

Bot because, in all my course, the graittest benefit was the sight and heiring of that extraordinar man of God, Mr Jhone Knox ; sa far as I then knew and hard of him, I man heir record. In the tyme of his being in St Androis, ther was a General Assemblie hauldin in the scholles of St Leonards, our Collage. Thair, amangs uther things, was motioned the making of Bischopes ; to the quhilk Mr Knox opposit him selff directlie and zealuslie. Yit a number of Comissionars of the Kirk, meatt at Leithe,¹ with the Lords that haid the guid caus in hand, (wharof everie ane was hounting for a fatt kirk leiving, quhilk gart them fecht the fastar,) and ther aggreit to mak Bischopes ; the warst turn that ever was done for the kirk leiving, as experience atteanes declared, when they war named "Tulchains," that is, calffs' skinnies stuffed with stra, to cause the cow giff milk ; for everie lord gat a bishoprie, and sought and presented to the kirk sic a man as wald be content with least, and sett tham maist of fewes, takes,² and pensiones. Amangs the rest, the Erle of Mortoun gat the bishoprik of St Androis, efter the hanging of Jhone Hamiltone ; and presented therunto that honorable father of the Universitie, as Rector thairof for the present, Mr Jhone Dowglass, a guid, upright-harted man, bot ambitius and simple, nocht knowing wha delt with him. I hard Mr Knox speak against it, bot sparinglie, because he lovit the man ; and with regrat, saying, "Alas ! for pitie, to lay upone an auld weak man's back that quhilk twentie of the best gifts could nocht bear. It will wrak him and disgrace him !" And, indeid, it cam to pass sa ; for within twa or thrie yeirs he died ; during the quhilk he haid nather that honour, welthe, nor helthe, as he was wount to haiff, ever repenting that he tuk it on. That was the first tyme I hard Mr Patrik Constantine, wha, then new retourned out of France with young Mr James Macgill, the Clark Register eldest sone, thought, be the said Clark's

¹ "The Conference at Leithe was in Januare ; and the General Assemblie in Merche thereafter, 1571." Margin of MS.

² Tacks, leases.

court, wha was grait with the Erle of Mortoun, to haiff bein preferrit to the bischoprik, bot coming schort, becam a zealus preatchour against Bischopes. I hard a sermont of his the ouk efter the Bischope was maid, upon ane extraordinary day, that he might haiff the graitter audience; wherin he maid thrie sorts of Bischoppes: My Lord Bischope, My Lord's Bischope, and The Lord's Bischope. "My Lord Bischope," said he, "was in the Papistrie: My Lord's Bischope is now, when my Lord getts the benefice, and the Bischope serves for na thing bot to mak his tyle sure: And The Lord's Bischope is the trew Minister of the Gospell." Mr Patrik was then weill lyked, and of guid expectation with sic as knew him nocht intus.¹ The yeir efter was maid Bischope, Geordie of Murro, whom I saw a haill wintar mumling on his pretching af his peapèrs everie day at our morning prayers; and haid it nocht weill *par ceur* when all was done: And efter him, Bischope Patone of Dunkell.² This greivit the hart of the man of God to the dead; bot the warres war sa hatt, and the Lords cryed they behud³ to leave tham, giff they gatt nocht the kirk leiving; and monie knew nocht yit the corruption and unlawfulness of that invention of men, and sa the mater past fordwart.

At Mr Knox coming to St Androis, Robert Lekprivik, printar, transported his lettres and press from Edinbruch to St Androis, whar first I saw that excellent art of printing; and haid then in hand. Mr Patrik Constant's Catechisme of Calvin, converted in Latin heroic vers, quihilk with the author was mikle estimated of.

About the sam tyme cam to St Androis, to visit Mr Knox, Jhone Durie, fellow minister of Leith with Mr David Lindsay, wha was then for stoutness and zeall in the guid cause mikle renouned and talked of. For the gown was na sooner af, and the Byble out of hand [fra the kirk,⁴] when on ged⁵ the corslet, and fangit was the hagbot,⁶ and to the fields! Him I saw first at St Androis with Mr Knox.

¹ Inwardly, thoroughly, intimately. ² "I saw them bathe gett imposition of hands be B. Douglas and Mr Jhon Woundrom, Superintendent, whom I saw inaugarat (as they cald it) B. Douglas." Margin of MS. ³ Behoved. ⁴ Taken from the margin of MS. ⁵ Went. ⁶ The hagbut was snatched up.

The town of Edinbruche recovered againe, and the guid and honest men therof retourned to thair housses. Mr Knox with his familie past hame to Edinbruche. Being in St Androis he was verie weak. I saw him everie day of his doctrine go hulie and fear, with a furring of martriks about his neck, a staff in the an hand, and guid godlie Richart Ballanden, his servand, halding upe the uther oxtar, from the Abbay to the paroche kirk; and be the said Richart and another servant, lifted upe to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his first entrie; bot or he haid done with his sermont, he was sa active and vigorus that he was lyk to ding that pulpit in blads, and fly out of it! Sa, soone efter his coming to Edinbruche, he becam unable to preatche; and sa instituting in his roun, be the ordinar calling of the kirk and congregation, Mr James Lawsons, [a man of singular learning, zeal, and eloquence, whom I never hard preatche bot he meltit my hart with teares,¹] he tuk him to his chamber, and most happelie and comfortablie departed this lyff. Vide concerning his lyff and dathe, Mr Thomas Smeton's buik against Hamiltone the Apostat.

Ther was twa in St Androis wha war his aydant heirars, and wrot his sermons; an, my condisciple, Mr Andro Yowng, now minister of Dumblean, wha transleated sum of tham in Latin, and read tham in the hall of the Collage in stead of his orations: that uther was servant to Mr Robert Hamilton, minister of the town, whom Mr Robert causit to wrait, for what end God knawes. The threatnings of his sermons war verie soar; and sa particular, that sic as lyket nocht the cause, tuk occasion to reproche him as a rashe raler, without warrand. And Mr Robert Hamilton himself being offendit, conferrit with Mr Knox, asking his warrand of that particular thretning against the Castel of Edinbruche, that it sould rin lyk a sand-glass; it sould spew out the Captan with scham; he sould nocht com out at the yet, bot down ower the walles; and sic lyk. Mr Knox answerit, "God is my warrant, and yie sall sie it." Whill as the uther was skarslie satisfeit, and tuk hardlie with it, the nixt

¹ This has been afterwards added by the Author on the margin of the MS.

sermont from pulpit, he repeates the thretnings, and addes therto, "Thow, that will nocht beleive my warrand, sall sie it with thy eis that day ; and sall say, What haif I to do heir ?" This sermont the said Mr Robert's servand wrot ; and, being with his maister in Edinbruche a twa yeir thairefter, at the taking of the Castell, they ged¹ up to the Castell-hill, saw the forwark of the Castell all demolish-ed, and rinning lyk a sandie bray ; they saw the men of wear all sett in ordour ; the Captan, with a lytle cut of a staff in his hand, takin doun ower the wall upon the leathers ;² and Mr Robert, trouplet with the thrang of the peiple, sayes to his man, "Go, what haif I ado heir ?" And, in going away, the servant remembers his maister of that sermont, and the words ; wha was compellit to glorifie God, and say, he was a trew prophet.

Ane uther strange particular was recompted to me be Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leithe : That efter Mr Knox haid taken bed, he cam in to visit him, as he was accustomed, and asked him whow he did ? He answerit, "Weill, brother, I thank God. I haiff desyrd all this day to haif yow, that I may send yow yit to yon man in the Castell, whom yie ken I haif loved sa deirlie : Go, I pray, and tell him that I haif send yow to him, yit annes,³ to warn and bid him, in the nam of God, leave that evill cause, and giff ower that Castle ; giff nocht, he salbe brought doun ower the wals of it with shame, and hing against the sune : Sa God has assurit me." Mr David, whowbeit he thought the message hard, and the thretning ower⁴ particular, yit obeyit, and past to the Castell ; and meiting with Sir Robert Melvill walkin on the wall, tauld him ; wha was, as he thought, mikle movit with the mater. Therefter communed with the Captan, whom he thought also sumwhat moved ; but he past from him to the Secretar Lithintone, with whom, when he haid conferrit a whyll, he cam out to Mr David again, and said to him, "Go, tell Mr Knox he is bot a drytting prophet !" Mr David returning, tauld Mr Knox he haid dischargit the commission fathfullie ; but that it was nocht weill accepted of, efter the Captan haid conferrit with the Secretar. "Weill," (sayes Mr Knox,) "I

¹ Went.² Ladders.³ Yet once more.⁴ Over, too.

haif bein earnest with my God anent tha twa men ; for the an I am sorie that sa sould befall him, yit God assures me ther is mercie for his saul ; for that uther I haif na warrand that ever he salbe weill." Mr David sayes, he thought it hard, yit keipit it in mynd till Mr Knox was at rest with God.

The Engliss armie cam in, with munition meit for the seage of the Castell ; and within few dayes the Captean is sean to rander, and com down the leathers ower the wall. He is committed to a ludging in the town with a custodie of souldarts.¹ Mr David, because of grait acquaintance, comes to visit him, whom he employes to go to the Erle of Morton, and offer him his hail heritage, the band of manrent of all his frinds, and to pass af the countrie in exyll, during his will. Mr David goes that night and speakes the Erle, then being Regent, proponing to him the offers. The Regent goes asyde, and consultes with the Abbot of Dumfermling and Clark Register ; thairefter Mr David comes, craving his answer. It was giffen, It could nocht be : The peiple could nocht be satisfeit, nor ther cause clerit and crowned, with[out] exemplar punishment of that man and his counsellour, the Secretar. Mr David the morn, be nyne hours, comes agean to the Captean, the Lard of Grange, and taking him to ane fore stare of the ludgin apart, resolves him it behoved him to suffer. " O then, Mr David," sayes he, " for our auld frindschipe, and for Chryst's seak, leave me nocht !" So he remeanes with him, wha paecing up and down a whyll, cam to a schot, and seeing the day fear, the sune cleir, and a scaffald preparing at the Corss in the Hie-geatt,² he falles in a grait studie, and alteris countenance and cullour ; quhilk, when Mr David perceaved, he cam to him, and asked him what he was doing ? " Fathe, Mr David," sayes [he,] " I perceive weill now that Mr Knox was the trew servant of God, and his thretning is to be accomplisshed ;" and desyred to heir the treuthe of that againe. The quhilk Mr David rehersed ; and added thairunto, that the sam Mr Knox, at his retourning, haid tauld him that he was earnest with God for him ; was sorie, for the

¹ Under a guard of soldiers.

² At the Cross, in the High Street.

love he buir him, that that sould com on his bodie, bot was assurit ther was mercie for his saull. The quhilk he wald haiff repeated ower againe to him ; and thairupon was graitlie comforted, and became to be of guid and cheirfull cowrage. Sa that he dynded moderatlie ; and thairefter tuk Mr David apart, for his streinthning to suffer that dethe ; and in end beseikes him nocht to leave him, bot convoy him to the place of execution : " And tak heid," sayes he, " I hope in God, efter I salbe thought past,¹ to giff yow a taken² of the assurance of that mercie to my saull, according to the speakinge of that man of God !" Sa, about thrie houres efter none, he was brought out, and Mr David with him ; and about foure, the sune being wast about af the north-west nuk of the steiple, he was put af the leddar, and his face first fell to the est ; bot within a bonie whyll³ turned about to the west, and ther remeaned against the sune : At quhilk tyme, Mr David, ever present, sayes, he marked him, when all thought he was away,⁴ to lift up his hands that war bund befor him, and ley tham down again softlie ; quhilk moved him, with exclamation, to glorifie God befor all the peiple. This last part of his execution I hard also of Jhone Durie, wha was present with him on the scaffold.

Sa, in lyk maner, whatever he spak concerning the Hamiltones and the Quein, whowbeit in appeirance, in the mean tyme, bot contrar, and monie guid folks thought hard and strange, yit cam to pass, and was marked in particular to the grait glorie of God, terrour of the enemies, and joy of the godlie.

Thus, ending my course of Philosophie in St Androis, whar upon the part of God I haid offerit to me all guid occasion of godlines, lerning, and wesdome, sa mikle as was in the countrey for the tyme, [and might fall in my age ;⁵] bot on my part, wha throw wantones and vanitie neglected and mispent the occasiones, haid gottin na thing bot a nam and opinion of lerning, a babling of words without wit, at least wesdome : For my light young nature was giffen mair to

¹ After his spirit had passed away.
considerable time.

⁴ Dead.

² To give you a token or sign.

⁵ Added on margin of the MS.

³ A considerable time.

be superficial nor solid, circumferential nor centrik, desyring to heir and haiff the names of manie things, bot never weill degesting nor ryping out the nature of anie, bot fleiting and flowing, soon lyking and soon lothing everie thing. Onlie now and then I fand sum sweit and constant motiones of the feir and love of God within me.

I cam to Dondie, whar my uncle Roger, a man godlie, kynd, and wyse, enterit with me to understand to what calling my hart inclyned; and gaiff out that my father's intention was to haiff me a lawer. I said nocht mikle against it, bot wissed at God I might haiff the gifts and grace to be a minister. Coming ham, my father tented¹ me in the sam maner, bot nocht sa familiarlie; nather durst I utter anie thing against his opinion and judgment, bot said I was readie to obey his will and direction in all things. He commandit me then to occupie my tyme weill amangs his books till the vacans, at what tyme he wald haiff occasion to meit with sum guid man of law in Edinbruche, to whom he wald put me in service. Giff sa he meinde, indeid, because he saw na provision for the ministerie, or to essay my resolution, I can nocht tell. Going a² day to Bonitone, I past by the Kirk of Maritone and place wher I haid prayed, and vowed to God: the sam cam in my memorie, with a grait motion of mynd and determination to pay my vow, giff God wald giff the grace and moyen. Sa, praying and worschiping befor God, it cam in my mynd to pen a sermont upon a part of Scripture, and leave it in a buik of my father, whar he might find it; and sa I tuk the beginning of the nynt of Jhone's Evangell, of the blind man, and studeing his comentares thairon, Musculus and Marlorot, wrot it and left it in Musculus' Comentars; quhilk, when he fand it, lyked him weill; yit spak na thing, bot left me in suspence till it pleasit God to giff me full resolution. For, a lytle befor Lambes,³ word cam that Mr Andro was com to Edinbruche, and within twentie dayes efter he cam to Baldowy; with whom when my father had conferit, and knawin what opinion he haid of me, he delyverit me ower unto

¹ Tried.² Once.³ Lammas; the feast of St Peter *ad vinculas*.

*Richard Melvill, 4th son to James Melvill of
Dysart, & Anna Crockerell his spouse" &c
born in 1598, Dornoch, Sutherland, 1598
died in 1606 (not at Dornoch)*

him, thinking he was disburdenit of me; and sa indeid he was, as the continuation of this narrative will declar. This was in the yeir of God 1574.

Because I said befor, that Scotland receavit never a graitter benefit at the hands of God nor this man, I will schortlie sett down, first, a litle discours of his lyff befor his coming ham, and syne¹ what he brought with him. He was born in Baldowy, a place pleasand, fertill, and weill aired, lyand within a myll to the town of Montrose, upon the south-west, hard be the "*Æstuarium fluminis Æskæ meridionalis*," in the yeir of Chryst's birthe 1545, the first day of the monethe August, begottin of gentill and honest parents, Richard Melvill of Baldowy, brother-german of Jhone Melvill of Dysart, and Gills Abercrombie, douchter to Thomas Abercrombie, burgess of Montrose, of the house of Murthle. He was the youngest of nyne breither, all left alyve when thair father was slean with the graittest part of the gentilmen of Anguss, in the vangard of the field of Pinkie. His mother leivit² an honorable weidow till he was twall yeir of age, traned upe in letters in the scoll of Montrose, under Mr Thomas Andersone, esteimed the best maister in his tyme, whowbeit nocht the maist lernit. Sche left sax of hir sonnes in honest rounes;³ all, even then or schortlie thairefter, bearing office in kirk or comoun weill, and with the best estimed in thair rank and above. They war, Richart Melvill of Baldowy, and minister of Chryst's Evangell sone efter, the eldest: Mr Thomas, a fyne schollar, weill travelit in France and Italie, Secretar-deput of Scotland: Walter, burgess, and oft bailye of Montrose, a wyse and stout man: Roger, burgess of Dondie, a man of singular giftes of nature and God's grace, bot was nocht traned upe in lettres. I hard that fathfull pastor of Dondie, Wilyeam Chrystisone, a lytle efter his deathe, with teares say, "Alas! when God tuk this Roger Melvill, he tuk from me my father, and the carefulest father that ever Dondie haid. His nam wilbe rememberit sa lang as Dondie

¹ Then.² Lived.³ Respectable situations.

is a town."¹ Mr James, minister of Chryst's Evangell: Jhone, then guidman and rewar of his mother's effeares, and efter a minister in the kirk: the rest war Robert, David, and Andro; wharof the first twa was kept at the scholl till they tyrd, and war put to craftis; the last was a seiklie tender boy, and tuk pleasur in na thing sa mikle as his buik. Sa with the portion that was left him, he spendit a yeir or twa in Montrose, namlie, heiring a France man, called Petrus de Marsiliers, teache the Greik grammer, and sum thing of that language, honestlie conductit to the sam as a rare thing in the countrey, nocht hard of befor, be that notable instrument in the kirk, Jhone Erskine of Done, of most honourable and happie memorie; wherin he profited sa, that entering thairefter in the course of Philosophie within the Universitie of St Androis, all that wes teached of Aristotle he lerned and studeit it out of the Greik text, quhilk his maisters understud nocht. He past his cuirse² in the New Collage, tenderlie belovit of Mr Johne Dowglass, provost of that Collage and rectour of the Universitie; wha wald tak him betuix his legges at the fyre in wintar, and warm his hands and cheiks, and blessing him, say, "My sillie fatherles and motherles chyld, it's ill to wit what God may mak of thie yit!"

Sa, ending his course of Philosophie, he left the Universitie of St Androis with the commendation of the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of anie young maister in the land; and with all possible diligence maid his preparation, and past to France. Be the way he was extreamlie tormented with sie-seiknes and storme of wather, sa that oft tymes, whylls be danger of schipwrak, whylls be infirmitie and seiknes, he luiked for deathe. He arryvit first in England, and again imbarcking cam to Burdeaux, wher he taried nocht lang, bot imbarcking from that cam to Deipe; from that to Paris, whar he remeanit in the Universitie twa yeiris at his awin studies, heiring the lightes³ of the maist scyning age in all guid lettres, the king's pub-

¹ "I haiff hard Mr Robert Bruce say oft of Roger, that giff he haid haid Mr Andro's lerning, he wald be the oddest man in Europe." Margin of MS. ² Course.

³ "Salinacus, Pascasius, Forcatellus, Mathematiciens; Balduinus the lawer, Duretus Mediciner; Carpantarius, Quinquarborius, Hebrew." Margin of MS.

lict professors, Andreas Tornebus in Greik and Latine Humanitie ; Petrus Ramus in Philosophie and Eloquence ; Jo. Mercerus in the Hebrew langage, wherupon he was specialie sett. In the last yeir of they twa, he grew sa expert in the Greik, that he declamit and teatchit lessones, uttering never a word bot Greik, with sic readines and plentie, as was mervelus to the heirars. From Paris he past to Poicteors, whar he regented in the Collage of St Marcean thrie yeirs.¹ Ther he haid the best lawers, and studeit sa mikle thair of as might serve for his purpose, quhilk was Theologie, wherto he was dedicat from his mother's wombe. And when the Collages war giffen upe, because of the seage leyed to the town, quhilk was lang and feirfull, he was employed be an honourable councellar to instruct his onlie sone. The bern profited exceiding weill, and was of a sweit inclination, takin away from him and his parents be a schot out of the campe, quhilk parted the wall of his chalmer, and wounded him deadlie in the thie. He called incontinent for his maister, whom whow soone he saw, he caught him in his armes, and uttered the words of the Apostle in Greik, διδασκαλε, τὸν δρόμον μου τετεληκα, "Maister, I haiff perfyted my course !" and sa, with monie uther godlie and sweit words, he died. That bern gaed never out of his hart ; bot in teatching of me, he often rememberit him with tender compassion of mynd. He taried in that hous, quhilk was weill furnesit, during the tyme of the seadge. Ther was a corporall with a few suddarts put to keipe the house, who espyed him in his prayers and speitches to be halie and devot ; and on² day, (being a Papist and man of warr,) with a grait aithe he challengit Mr Andro that he was a Hugonot, and wald helpe to betray the town ; thairfor, because the alarme was strikken, he could nocht trust him in that hous. Mr Androw answers incontinent, "I am als honest a man to my God, and magistrat, and estat of the town, and maister of this familie, as thow art ; and sa sall prove this day—do thy

¹ "Ther was grait emulation and contention in verses, and harangs betuix the twa Collages, S. Marcean and Pivareau ; bot during his presence ther, S. Marcean haid without question the upper hand." Margin of MS.

² One.

best!" And with that starts to the nixt armour, and on with it; and all in armes to the stable, and takes the best horse be the heid. This when the corporall saw, he comes with fellon fear termes,¹ and intreats him to leave of and forgiff him. "O no, no!" sayes he, "I sall prove als honest and stout as thy selff." "O Monsieur," sayes the uther, "my captean and the maister of this hous will rebuk me and put me from it, giff yie be thus troublet; thairfor I pray yow tak me oblesit to my uttermaist, and tarie and forgiff me." Sa he tuk ease in guid part, and was never troublet thairefter. Giff it haid com to the warst, he was resolved, being weill horst, to haiff gottin him to the campe of the Admirall, wha was in persone beseageand the town.

The seage of the town being rasit, he left Poicteors, and accompanied with a Frenche man, he tuk journey to Genev, leaving buikis and all ther, and caried na thing with him bot a litle Hebrew Byble in his belt. So he cam to Genev all upon his fut, as he haid done befor from Deipe to Paris, and from that to Poicteors; for he was small and light of body, but full of sprites, vigourus and cowragius. His companions of the way, when they cam to the ine,² wald ly down lyk tyred tyks,³ bot he wald out and sight⁴ the townes and vilages withersoever they cam. The ports of Genev wer tentilie keipit, because of the troubles of France, and multitud of strangers that cam. Being thairfor inquiryit what they war, the Franche man his companion answerit, "We ar pure scollars." Bot Mr Andro, perceaving that they haid na will of pure⁵ folks, being alreadie owerlaid thairwith, said, "No, no, we are nocht puir! We haiff als mikle as will pay for all we tak, sa lang as we tarie. We haiff letters from his acquaintance to Monsieur di Beza; let us deliver those, we crave na fordar." And sa, being convoyit to Beza, and then to thair ludging, Beza, perceaving him a schollar, and they haiffing neid of a Professour of Humanitie in the Collage, put him within a twa or thrie dayes to tryell in Virgill and Homer; quhilk he could acquait so weill, that but farder⁶ he is placed in that roun

¹ Very fair or smooth terms.
examine.

² Inn.

³ Dogs, hounds.

⁴ Inspect,

⁵ Poor.

⁶ Without further ado or examination.

of profession; and at his first entrie, a quarter's fie payit him in hand. Sa that whowbeit thair was but a crown to the fore¹ betwix tham bathe, and the Frenchman weak-sprited, and wist nocht what to do, yit he fund God's providence to relieve bathe him selff and helpe his marrow² till he was provydit.

In Genev he ahead fyve years; during the quhilk tyme his cheiff studie was Divinitie, wheranent he hard Beza his daylie lessons and preatchings; Cornelius Bonaventura, Professour of the Hebrew, Caldaik, and Syriac langages; Portus, a Greik born, Professour of the Greik tounge, with whom he wald reassone about the right pronuntiation thairof; for the Greik pronuncit it efter the comoun form, keiping the accents; the quhilk Mr Andro controllit be precepts and reasone, till the Greik wald grow angrie, and cry out, "*Vos Scoti, vos barbari! docebitis nos Græcos pronunciationem linguæ nostræ, scilicet?*" He hard ther also Francis Ottoman, the renounedest lawer in his tyme. Ther he was weill acquainted with my eam,³ Mr Hendrie Scrymgeour, wha, be his lerning in the lawes and polecie and service of manie noble princes, haid attained to grait ritches, conquesit a prettie roun within a lig to Genev, and biggit thairon a trim house called "the Vilet," and a fear ludging within the town, quhilks all with a douchtar, his onlie bern, he left to the Syndiques of the town.

About the end of fyve yeirs, the Bischope of Brechine, and Mr Andro Pulwart with him, cam ther; and tareing a whyll, purposit hamwart; with whom Mr Andro Melvill, efter the receaving of letters from his brethering and me, with grait difficultie purchassit leave of the kirk and magistrates of Genev, [wha wald on na wayes haiff contented to part with him, giff his conscience haid suffered him to reserv his gifts anie langer onoffered to his cowntrey, and employed for the benefit of his frinds. Beza, in his Letter to the Generall Kirk of Scotland, alleages, that as the graittest taken of affection the Kirk of Genev could schaw to Scotland, that they haid suffered tham selves to be spuled of Mr Andro Melvill, wherby

¹ Remaining.² Fellow, companion.³ His uncle by the mother's side.

the Kirk of Scotland might be inritch¹, and takin jorney cam hamwart. From Lions they traversit the Franche Compté to the heid of the river of Loir, and cam down the sam be water to Orleans, haiffing in companie, sevin or aught dayes, a captean, a mediciner, and a preist, superstitius Papists at thair meitting kythed in ther speitch and meattes, bot be mirrie and solid reasoning withall, becam flech-eatters on Fredday, and the captean nocht far from the kingdome of heavin or² they parted. The portes of Orleans wer streat keipet, (being bot a yeir and half after the horrible massacres.) Brechine and Mr Andro Polwart was on fut, and Mr Andro weill mounted on horse, because he haid wraisted³ his leg, they past the twa futmen, and deteining the horseman, the souldarts⁴ inquiryres what he was? He answerit, "a Schottes man." "O! yie Scottes men are all Hugonotes," sayes the gard. "Hugonotes!" says he "what's that? we ken nocht sic." "O," sayes the souldart, "yie haiff nocht mess." "Forsuthe," sayes he mirrelie, "our bernes in Scotland gaes daylie to mess!" "Guid companion," sayes the uther, lauching, "go thy way." Coming to thair ludging, he tells his nibours, and garres them lauche: "Bot surlie," say they, "we war verie fleyed⁵ our pasport sould haiff bein loked,⁶ and finding us com from Genev, sould haiff bein troublat." "Yea," sayes thair host, "tak it for a speciall providence of God, for with-in this twall monethe, monie thowsands for les hes lost thair lyves." Going out of the town again at the turn of a rew,⁷ they meit the procession; Breachin and his pædagog was befor, Mr Andro a lytle efter. Brechin turns bak and sayes, "What sall I do?" "Fordwart!" quod he; and so he does. Mr Andro haulds out his syde clok⁸ with his armes als thought he haid bein bearing sum thing under his oxstars,⁹ and so passes by. But his hart bet him thairefter oft and sear,¹⁰ that he sould haiff sa stoutlie counsellit the uther, and usit a piece of dissimulation him selff. Coming to Paris, ther they

¹ What is contained within brackets is inserted on the margin of MS.

before. ³ Twisted, sprained.

⁴ Soldiers.

⁵ Afraid, terrified.

⁶ Narrowly inspected.

⁷ Street. Fr. *rue*.

⁸ Long cloak.

⁹ Under his arms.

¹⁰ His heart or conscience smote him afterwards frequently and severely.

remeaned dyvers dayes ; whar Mr Andro, meitting with the Lord Ogilbie, his countreyman, is requeisted be him to go to the Jesuits' Collage, whar he reasonit with Father Tyrie sindrie dayes ; bot the tyme being sa dangerus, and of sum minassing speitches of the Bischope of Glasgw, he was counsellit to hast af the town.¹ Sa they cam from Deipe ower to Ry in Eingland, from thence to London, whar they remanit a space ; and bying horssees, cam hame Loudon-way, be Berwik, to Edinbruche. And this for a schort recitall of his lyff till his coming ham.

As to that he brought ham with him : It was that plentiful and inexhaust theassour of all guid letters and lerning, bathe of humen and devyne things ; and that quhilk superexcelles, ane profound knowlege, upright sinceritie, and fervent zeall in trew relligion, and to put the sam in use for the profit of his Kirk and countrey ; ane unwearied peanfulnes and insatiable pleasour to giff out and bestow the sam without anie recompence or gean. Yea, rather sa far as his small moyen might reak,² conduceing and inviting all guid ingynes to receave and imbrace the saming. Wherby within these sax and twentie yeirs he hes inritchid his nation with incorruptible substance, mor without all compear nor in anie age sen it was a kingdome, [or manie nations in the warld this day, giff ther war honour and mentinance for lerning,³] quhilk the diduction of this

¹ " At Witsonday he cam out of Paris, the quhilk day King Charles, that maid that horrible massacre, died of an issew of blod, bursting out at all the conduits of his body ; wharon, in London, he maid that Epigram :

Naribus, ore, oculis atque auribus undique et ano,
Et pene erumpit qui tibi, Carle, cruor,
Non tuus iste cruor : Sanctorum at cede cruorem,
Quem ferus hausisti, concoquere haud poteras !

At nease, at mouthe, at ein, at ears, at wand,
That blud, that bursts from all thy conduits weast,
Is nocht thyne, Charls, bot of that holie band,
Quhilk thou did drink, but could nocht weill digeast !" Margin of MS.

² As far as his small means might stretch.

³ This is added on the margin.

storie will verifie and cleir at large. The nixt simmer cam ham his librarie, ritche and rare, of the best authors, in all langages, artes and sciences ; cleirlie declaring, be his instruments, what a craftesman he was.

He was nocht weill come to Edinbruche, when word was of him at Court, and the Regent Erle of Morton called unto him Mr George Buchanan, Mr James Haliburton, coronall, and Alexander Hay, soone efter Clark Register, and directes tham to dell with Mr Andro to content to be my Lord Regent's grace domestic instructour, and to giff a few notes upon his chaptour read daylie, and he sould be honorablie advanced at the first occasion. The Regent's meining was to haiff him and his giftes framed for his purpose, to restrean the fridome of application in preatching, and authoritie of the Generall Assemblies, and bring in a conformitie with Eingland in governing of the Kirk be Bischopes and injuncciones ; without the quhilk, he thought, nather the kingdome could be gydet to his fantasie, nor stand in guid aggriment and lyking with the nibour land. For this form of polecie he usit to mak schose of the men of best giftes, and first try tham at Court giff they wald be conformable and serve his purpose, and syne¹ prefer thame to bishoppries and government of the Kirk, as he did with twa thair-etter ; and haid proceedit fordar, giff God haid nocht disapointed him. Mr Andro, whowbeit nocht weill acquainted with thir purposes then, yit lyked nocht to be in Court, bot rather to be in sum Universitie, and profess thair as the King's Lectors in Parise ; and sa, as God directed him, refusit, and cravit his grace's favour to repose a whyll with his frinds, till God callit him to sic a roum quhilk he thought meittest.

Sa he cam to Baldowy to his brother, my father, whar he remeaned that hervest quarter, and whar, within a few dayes efter his coming, I was resigned ower be my father haillelie unto him to veak² upon him as his sone and servant ; and, as my father said to him, to be a pladge of his love. And surlie his service was easie, nocht to

¹ Then, afterwards.

² To *vaik*, or await on his leisure. Lat. *vacare*.

me onlie, bot even to the fremdest man¹ that ever served him ; for he schosed for his servantes onlie schollars, and giff they haid done anie guid at thair book, he cared nocht what they did to him. That quarter of yeir I thought I gat graitter light in letters nor all my tyme befor ; whowbeit at our meitting, in my conceat I thought I could haiff taked to him in things I haid hard, as he did to me as a Maister of Arts ; bot I perceavit at annes that I was bot an ignorant bable, and wist nocht what I said, nather could schaw anie use thair of, bot in clattering and crying. He fand me bauche² in the Latin tounge, a pratler upon precepts in Logik without anie profit for the right use, and haiffing sum termes of Art in Philosophie without light of solid knowlage ; yit of ingyne and capacitie guid aneuche, wherby I haid cunned³ my *dictata*, and haid them readie aneuche. He enterit thairfor and conferrit with me sum of Bowchanan's Psalmes, of Virgill and Horace ; quhilk twa, namlie Virgill, was his cheiff refreschment efter his grave studies ; wherin he lut me sie, nocht onlie the proper Latin langage and ornaments of poesie, bot also mair guid Logik and Philosophie then ever I haid hard befor. I had tean⁴ delyt at the Grammer Schole to heir reid and sung the verses of Virgill, taken with the numbers thair of, (whowbeit I knew nocht what numbers was till he tauld me,) and haid mikle of him *par ceur* ; bot I understud never a lyne of him till then. He read a Comedie of Tyrence with me, schawing me that ther was bathe fyne Latin langage and wit to be lernit : That of langage I thought weill, bot for wit I merveled, and haid nocht knawin befor. He put in my hand the Comentaires of Cæsar, comending him for the simple puritie of the Latin tounge ; also Salust, and read with me the Conjuratioun of Catelin. He haid gottin in Paris, at his by-coming, Bodin his Method of Historie, quhilk he read ower him self thryse or four tymes that quarter, annes with me, and the rest whill I was occupied in the Greik grammer, quhilk he put in hand, of Clenard ; causing me understand the precepts onlie, and lear the *παράδειγμα* exactlie ; the practise wharof he schew

¹ To the greatest stranger. ² Deficient, inexpert. ³ Conned, learned. ⁴ Taken.

me in my buik, going throw with me that Epistle of Basilus, and cawsing me lern it be hart, bathe for the langage and the mater. Thairefter to the New Testament, and ged throw sum chapters of Mathew, and certean confortable places of the Epistles, namlie the Romans. And last, entering to the Hebrew, I gat the reiding declynations and pronons, and sum also of the conjugations out of Martinus' Grammer, quhilk he haid with him, and schew me the use of the Dictionair also, quhilk he haid of Reuclius with him. And all this, as it war, bot pleying and craking; sa that I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him in daylie conversation, bathe that quarter and thairefter, nor ever I lernit of anie buik; whowbeit he set me ever to the best authors.

The Generall Assemblie was haldin in the monethe of August, soone efter his ham-coming, whar ther was grait word of him, arysing be the commendation of the Bischope of Brechine, and Mr Andro Pulwart. Sa commissioners from dyverse partes of the cown-trey maid sutt to the Assemblie for him; namlie, they of Fyff wald haiff haid him to St Androis, in the roum of Mr Jhone Dowglass, newlie departed this lyff; and thair, indeid, was he marked be the Regent to haiff bein maid Bischope of St Androis, giff he haid bein capable of Court bischopriks. Bot the maist ernest instance of Mr James Boid, latlie maid Bischope of Glasgw, and Mr Andro Hay, Superintendent of thaise partes, obtained of the Assemblie and sum of his frinds ther present, that he sould come and visit Glasgw, and sie the beginning of a Collage ther, and heir what conditiones sould be offered to him, that giff he lyked he sould condisend till abyde with tham. This Mr James Boid was a gentle man of the Lord Boid's kin, a guid man, and lover of lerning and lernd men, inducit be his Cheiff to tak the bischoprie, the gift wharof the said Lord Boid, being a grait counsallour to the Regent, haid purchassit for his commoditie; bot within a yeir or twa, when he fand nocht his Bischope plyable to his purpose, he caust his sone, the Maister of Boid, tak the Castell, and intromeat with all thairin, keipe it, and gather upe the rents of the bischoprik to intertein the saming; and this

was done *impune*, nochtwithstanding the Regent's streat justice, because the Tulchain¹ causit nocht the kow giff milk aneuche to my Lord. Sa that I haiff hard the honest gentle man rew whow sear that ever he tuk on that bischoprie, efter he haid understand be Mr Andro of the unlawfulness thair of, and fand sic a curse upon it. That uther, Mr Andro Hay, was an honest, zealus, frank-harted gentleman, Persone of Renthrow, and Rector of the Universitie of Glasgw, wha lyked never those bischopries, and wha specialie was the earnest suttar for Mr Andro Melvill. Sa, upon thair lettres, he tuk jorney, accompanied with twa of his breither, Mr James and Roger, and Mr James Balfour, then minister at Edinbruche, his cowsing german, and cam unto Glasgw; whar he contented, at the end of vacance, to enter and teatche in the Collage as principall maister; and thus aggreing, he returned ham again to Baldowy. At the tyme apointed, about the end of October, we tuk jorney, accompanied with his brother Jhone, and cam to Dondie, from that to St John's Town,² the first tyme I saw it; from that to Stirling, whar we remaned twa dayes, and saw the King, the sweitest sight in Europe that day, for strange and extraordinary gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie, and langage. I hard him discours, walking up and down in the auld Lady Marr's hand, of knowlage and ignorance, to my grait mervell and estonishment. Ther Mr Andro conferrit at lynthe with Mr George Bowchanan, then entering to wrait the storie of his countrey; also with Mr Piter Young and Sanders his brother; Mr [Gilbert Moncreif, the King's Medicinar,³] whome with he haid bein weill acquainted in Genev; also with Mr Thomas Bowchanan, then scholmaister, the wha accompanied us, of his kyndnes, to Glasgw.

We cam to Glasgw about the first of November 1574, whare we fand Mr Piter Blakburn, a guid man, new com from St Androis, enterit in the Collage, and begoun to teatche conform to the ordour of the course of St Androis. But Mr Andro, entering principall maister,

¹ See p. 31, where this is explained. ² Perth. ³ Added on the margin of MS.

all, was committed and submitted to him; wha permitted, willinglie, to the said Mr Piter the cair of the Collage leiving, quhilk was but verie small, consisting in litle annualles then; and sett him haillelie¹ to teatche things nocht hard in this countrey of befor, wherin he travelit exceiding diligentlie, as his delyt was thairin alleanerlie. Sa falling to wark with a few number of capable heirars, sic as might be instructars of uthers thairefter, he teatched tham the Greik grammer, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise thair of in Greik and Latin authors, namlie, Homer, Hesiod, Phocilides, Theognides, Pythagoras, Isocrates, Pindarus, Virgill, Horace, Theocritus, &c. From that he enterit to the Mathematiks, and teatched the Elements of Euclid, the Arithmetic and Geometrie of Ramus, the Geographie of Dyonisius, the Tables of Hunter, the Astrologie of Aratus. From that to the Morall Philosophie; he teatched the Ethiks of Aristotle, the Offices of Cicero, Aristotle de Virtutibus, Cicero's Paradoxes, and Tusculanes, Aristot. Polyb. and certean of Platoes Dialoges. From that to the Naturall Philosophie; he teatched the buiks of the Physics, De Ortu, De Cælo, &c., also of Plato and Fernelius. With this he joynd the Historie, with the twa lights thair of, Chronologie and Chirographie, out of Sleidan, Menarthes, and Melancthon. And all this, by and attoure² his awin ordinar profession, the holie tonges and Theologie; he teachit the Hebrew grammar, first schortlie, and syne³ mor accuratlie; thairefter the Caldaic and Syriac dialects, with the practise thair of in the Psalmes and warks of Solomon, David, Ezra, and Epistle to the Galates. He past throw the haille comoun places of Theologie verie exactlie and accuratlie; also throw all the Auld and New Testament. And all this in the space of sax yeirs; during the quhilk he teachit everie day, customable, twyse, Sabothe and uther day; with an ordinar conference with sic as war present efter denner and supper. His lerning and peanfulnes was mikle admired, sa that the nam of that Collage within twa yeirs was noble throwout all the land, and in

¹ Wholly, exclusively.² Over and above.³ Then, afterwards.

uther countreys also. Sic as haid passed ther course in St Androis cam in nomber ther, and entered schollars again under ordour and discipline, sa that the Collage was sa frequent¹ as the roumes war nocht able to receave tham. The scolmaister of the town, Mr Patrik Scharpe, was his ordinar heirar and contubernall,² whome he instructed, and directed in the maist commodius bringing upe of the youthe in grammer and guid authors; whom I hard oftentymes profes that he lerned mair of Mr Andro Melvill craking and pleying, for understanding of the authors quhilk he teatched in the scholl, nor be all his comentares. Sic lyk Mr Piter Blackburn, wha tuk upe the first clas. Finalie, I dar say ther was na place in Europe comparable to Glasgw for guid letters, during these yeirs, for a plentifull and guid chepe mercat of all kynd of langages, artes, and sciences.

In the simmer of the first of these sax yeirs, about the 18 yeir of my age compleit, God opened my mouthe first in publict upon the exerceis, with sic comendation out of the mouthe of Mr Andro Hay, Rector and Superintendent, namlie, even ther in publict in his addition, as I was wounderfullie encouragit to go fordwart. In the middes of that ouk,³ I dreamed that I haid maid the exerceis in Montros, and being demissed from the breithring with comfortable commendation, I cam ower to Baldowy to my father, and entering in the place ther was nan that knew me: I past upe to the hall, and enterit in the chalmer at the end thairof, whar I met with my father, and tauld him whow I haid bein occupied, wha tuk me in his armes, and kissing me, said in my ear, "Jamie, serve God, for thow art behauldin to him!" and with that he goes and sitting down on a bedsyde, he keaves bak ower,⁴ sa that his feit stak out stiff and dead. With that I walkned⁵ with grait feir and commotion, quhilk abaid with me the space of an houre. Bot the burding of the exerceise lyand upon me, maid me to forget it, till going to the Rector, Mr Andro Hay, his ludging, to delyver certean buiks I

¹ Crowded, well attended.

² In the middle of that week.

³ Comerade, companion. *Lat. contubernalis.*

⁴ Fell over backwards.

⁵ Awoke.

haid borrowit, and at the first sight he takes me in his armes, and thrusting and kissing me, he sayes, "My hart, serve God, for thow art behauldin to him!" Ther is my dream! thought I, and tauld it to my companion going to the Collage againe. Bot within twa dayes, my uncle, Mr Andro, returning from Edinbruche, whar he haid bein taking ordour with his buiks new com hame; by his countenance first, and after a sweit and comfortable delling with me, thairefter tauld me that his brother, my father, was departed this lyff, and efter inquisition, fund it was the sam verie night I haid dreamed. Sa it pleased God to mak me warning, and furneise me confort against the heaviest newes that ever I haid hard befor in all my lyff; for as I haiff schawen befor, he was a rare man, and a maist loving father to me; at the closing of whase mouthe, God thus opened myne.

Be occasion of the recounting of this dream to my uncle, Mr Andro, he rememberit me of an uther I haid dreamed, and tauld him the ouk befor his going to Edinbruche, that my brother David was hangit, with certean circumstances, quhilk troublit me. The quhilk, at the verie instant I tauld him, he interpreted of my brother's mariage, whilk wald nocht be to his weill and confort; knawing na thing of that mater, till with the newes of my father's dethe he was informit that he haid married his sone David in a summar¹ and hastie maner a few dayes befor his departour; quhilk was almaist a wrak to him and his hous, as heirefter we sall declare.

Nocht lang efter Mr Andro receavit letters from Monsieur du Bez, and therin amangs the rest, "*Colaceus vester, exemplar omnium virtutum, nuper apud nos vita functus est.*" This was my guid regent, wha, efter the ending of our course, haid gean² to France, and coming to Genev, ther died; a grait los to the Kirk of God in his countrey, for he was solidlie lernit, haillelie addicted to divinitie, with a sincere and zealus hart. Ther was never twa thinges befor that, quhilk ofter and mair heavilie I regreated in my mynd, nor the deing³ of these my fathers, befor I haid testified my thankfull hart to tham,

¹ Summary.² Gone.³ Than the death.

after the attaining to sum light of letters and knowlage of God ; quhilk, when I was even then about to do be sum litle essay in the thrie langages, I was be the newes of thair deathe cutt aff.

That yeir also, in the monethe of Merche, I haid the benefeit to be present with my uncle, Mr Andro, at the Generall Assemblie haldin in Edinbruche. At the quhilk the question being movit about the Jurisdiction and Polecie of the Kirk, Mr Andro Melvill, withe certean uther breithring, war ordeanit to tak peanes thair-anent, and giff in ther judgment to the nixt Assemblie. And in deid that mater cost him exceiding grait peans, bathe in mynd, body, and gear,¹ during the space of fyve or sax yeir, with the gean of the Regent, Erl of Morton, and his Bischope's utter indignation. Yit, with the wounderfull assistance of God, he bure it out till the abolishing of Bischopes, and establisshing of the Presbyteries according to the word of God ; wharby he gatt the nam of επισκοπομαστιξ, *Episcoporum exactor*, the flinger out of Bischopes. Ther I hard first, in Edinbruche, Mr James Lawson, a godlie lernit man, of a wounderfull moving utterance in doctrine ; whom I delyted mikle to heir, and whom I never hard bot withe teares bathe of remors and joy. As also Jhone Durie, newlie transported from Leith to Edinbruche, a man zealus and mightie in spreit, with Mr Walter Balcanquall, ane honest, upright-harted young man, latlie enterit to that ministerie of Edinbruche. Thir, informed mair throwlie be Mr Andro of the unlawfulness of Bischopes, and the right maner of governing of the Kirk be Presbyteries, dealt diligentlie and forcible in ther doctrine against that ane ; and for that uther wakned up the spreits of all guid breithring, and crabet² the Court stranglie. Bot surlie ther ministerie and exemple of lyff movit me, and tuk sic hauld upon my hart, that I went never to na place with better will nor to Edinbruche, and tyred never les in anie place nor in thair companie.³

¹ " Keiping Assemblies and dyettes of conference, reasoning and advysing with breithring anent that wark." Margin of MS. ² Vexed, put out of temper.

³ " The tym was verie favorable, for God haid glorefied his nam wounderfullie of leat, in performing strange things forspoken be Mr Knox against the Castell of Edinbruche." Margin of MS.

M.D.LXXV.

Being at the Assemblie thairefter in August, at Edinbruche, 1575, the question was proponed, "Giff Bischopes, as they war at that tyme in the Kirk of Scotland, haid a lawfull calling or office by the word of God?" Efter advyse of certean breithring thairupon, and reasoning in publict, it was resolvit *negative*; and that the nam "Bischope" was comoun to everie Pastor, and ordeanit that breither sould inquire fordar, bathe in that and uther poinctes of the Discipline and Polecie of the Kirk.

Efter the Assemblie we past to Anguss in companie with Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, a man of singular gifts of lerning, wisdom, godlines, and sweitnes of nature, then Principall of the Collage of Aberdein; whom withe Mr Andro communicat anent the hail ordour of his Collage in doctrine and discipline; and aggreit, as thairefter was set down, in the new reformation of the said Collages of Glasgw and Aberdein. In Angus we maried my youngest sistar Barbara upon Mr James Balfour, then minister at Guthrie; and buried guid auld Thomas Melvill of Dysart, the mirrie man; and sa, efter vacans, returned to Glasgw.

About Michaelmas, in the yeir 1575, in the 19 year of my age, I enterit Regent, and tuk up the class, and teatched the Greek grammar, Isocrates Paranesis ad Demonium, the first buk of Homer's Iliads, Phocylides, Hesiod's *εργα και ημεραι*, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetorik of Taleus, with the practise in Cicero's Catilinars and Paradoxes, &c.

Ther was then resident in Glasgw Mr Patrik Adamsone, alias Constant, minister of Pasley, a man of notable ingyne, letters, and eloquence, wha was Mr Androes grait frind and companion; and, efter he haid craftelie insinuat him selff in Mr Androes favour, and the ministerie of Edinbruche, he began to step on fordwart to the first degrie of a Bischope; and, leaving Pasley, past to Court, and becam minister to the Regent, Erle of Mortoun. About the quhilk tyme the personage of Giffen vaked, a guid benefice, lyand hard besyde the town of Glasgw, peying four and twentie chalder of victuall. This benefice is offered to Mr Andro, provyding he wald

be the Regent's man, and leave aff the persut of the Bischopes. Quhilk he refusit, bot delt earnestlie with the Regent him selff, and be all moyen, namlie, of the said Mr Patrik, to haiff it annexit to the Collage, the rent wharof was verie small, nocht able to sustein twa maisters, without anie bursares. The Regent keipit the benefice in his hand undisponit mikle of twa yeir ;¹ alleaging, that Mr Andro haid the wait,² wha wald defraud that Collage, and him selff bathe, of sic a benefit, because of his new opiniones, and owersie³ dreames, anent the Kirk Discipline and Polecie. Yit, at last, the Regent, seing he could nocht be broken be bost,⁴ be advyse of the said Mr Patrik, he essayes to move him be benefit, and makes a new erection and reformation of the Collage of Glasgw, annexing and mortefeing thairunto the said benefice of Giffen ; quhilk was the best turn⁵ that ever I knew ather the Regent or Mr Patrik to do. Bot the speciall drift was to demearit Mr Andro, and cause him relent from dealing against Bischopes ; bot God keipit his awin servant in uprichtnes and treuthe, in the middes of manie heavie tentationes, (whilas his coleg, Mr Piter, and uthers, nocht onlie surmeisit, bot spak out, that he was a grait hinder of a guid wark,) and by his blessing effectuat the turn be crewked instruments.

M.D.LXXVI.

The second yeir of my regenting, I teatchit the elements of Arithmetic and Geometrie out [of] Psellus for schortness ; the Offices of Cicero ; Aristotle's Logic, in Greik, and Ethic, (and was the first regent that ever did that in Scotland ;) also Platoe's Phædon and Axiochus ; and that profession of the Mathematiks, Logic, and Morall Philosophie, I keipit (as everie ane of the regents keipit their awin, the schollars ay ascending and passing throw) sa lang as I regented ther, even till I was, with Mr Andro, transported to St Androis.

That yeir, in Apryll, the Generall Assemblie, convenit at Edin-

¹ Undisposed of for the greatest part of two years.

² Wyte, blame.

³ Literally "over-sea," i.e. far-fetched.

⁴ Threatening.

⁵ Good office.

bruche, resolved, concerning Bischopes,¹ the nam and office to be comoun to all the Pastors of the Kirk ; out of the quhilk might be schosin commissionars for visitation, planting, &c. *Item*, All Bischopes war ordeanit to tak them selves to a particular flok. *Item*, Contribution ordeanit to be maid for releiff of the exylit Frenche kirks. *Item*, Nominat for making overture of the Polecie and Jurisdiction of the Kirk : for the West countrey, James Bischope of Glasgw, Mr Andro Melvin, Mr Andro Hay, Mr James Grig, Mr David Cuninghame ; for Lawdien, Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Lawsons, Mr David Lindsay, and, adjoynit to tham, Mr Clement Lytle, and Mr Alexander Sim, lawers ; for Fyff, Mr Jhone Windrame, Superintendent, with the principall maisters of the Universitie ; for Merns and Anguss, the Laird of Din, Wilyeam Chrystisone, Mr Jhone Row, Mr Wilyeam Rind, Jhone Duncansone ; for Aberdein, Mr Jhone Crag, and Mr Alexander Arbuthnot ; the places ordeanit whar they sould meit, and thair diligence to be giften in to the nixt Assemblie, to be haldin at Edinbruche in October.

In this mean tyme, the Chancellor, Lord Glamms, being a guid, lerned nobleman, wryttes to Geneva to Theodor Bez, craving his judgment in the questiones moved at our Generall Assemblies ; and, be that occasion, we gett ham Bezae's Treatiss, *De Triplici Episcopatu*, quhilk did mikle guid.

All the tyme I could get, by my ordinar calling, I employed to the studie of the Hebrew tounge and theologie. I read Bezae's Confession, giffen me be my uncle, diligentlie, and hard his lessons according to Calvin's Institutiones ; and, being myndful of my vow and finding God to haiff blessed the first and second opening of my mouthe in publict on the exerceive, I thought guid to continow. The ordour of the Collage was, that everie regent, his ouk about,¹ convoyit the schollars to a kirk hard adjacent, whar the peiple convenit ; and that regent red the comoun prayers, with a chaptour or twa. I, for my part, contented nocht simple to reid ; bo ttaking sum pean, when I might haiff sliped, the night befor indvnt to

¹ Each in his own turn, weekly.

tak up the soum of the chaptour, and giff sum notes of doctrine, with exhortation. This pleasit and confortit guid peiple verie mikle, sa that they resorted verie frequentlie my ouk ; quhilk also movit the rest of the regents to essay and follow the sam form, and sa bathe profited tham selves and uthers. All the quhilk I record to the praise of the grace of my guid God alleanerlie ;¹ for utherwayes, a veaner, fulishar, corrupter youthe was ther nocht in that Collage ; sa that giff my God haid nocht put in me sum bit of conscience, and fear of his nam, in discharging my office, and a peice of honestie and scham befor the warld, I sould never haiff done guid, bot, by sluggishnes and wandering fantasies, easelie caried away to all deboicherie.

The breithring appointed be the Assemblie convenit at Glasgw, in Mr David Cuninghame's hous, then Subdean of Glasgw, and Dean of our Facultie of Artes ; a man lernit and of verie guid account at that tyme, haid fear hous and yeards wherin an erle nicht haiff dwelt, and a thowsand mark of rent, with the better.² Nan was sa frak³ in the cause as he. He moderat the reasoning, gatherit up the conclusiones, and put all in wrait and ordour to be reported to the Assemblie. Bot, to mark the strange sagacitie of my uncle Mr Andro, he ever suspected bathe Mr Patrik Adamsone and this Mr David, and said, he fearit they sould nocht prove frinds in the cause, they war sa courtlie. And sa fell out, indeid, as we sall heir,

The Generall Assemblie, convened at Edinbruche in October, ordeanit the travelles of the Breithring to be sighted and advysit upon, that, being brought in open Assemblie, they might proceed to determine. In the mean tyme, compeires Alexander Hay, Clark of Registrar, and giffes in, from my Lord Regent's grace, a number of questiones to be resolvit be the Assemblie, anent the Polecie and Jurisdiction of the Kirk, quhilk sett tham to fardar consultation. Ther was Mr Patrik Adamsone, presented to the Bischoprik of St

¹ Only.² And upwards.³ Hearty, forward.

Androis ; and being inquyrit, in the publict Assemblie, giff he wald receave that bischoprik? he answerit, he wald receave na office judgit unlawfull be the Kirk ; and as to that bischoprik, he wald na wayes accept of it without the advyse of the Generall Assemblie. And, nevertheless, or¹ the nixt Assemblie, he was seasit hard and fast on the bischoprik ; wherby all gossoprie² ged upe³ betwin him and my uncle Mr Andro. Ther was at Court then Captan Mongumerie, a guid honest man, the Regent's domestic, wha market an accustomed phrase of Mr Patrik's in his doctrine, "The prophet wald mein this." And whow soone he saw Mr Patrik gripe to the bischoprie, he cryes out amang his companions, "For als oft as it was repeated be Mr Patrik, 'The prophet wald mein this,' I understud never what the profit meins whil⁴ now!" quod he.

[To mak the Assemblie lyk the better bathe of the presenter and presented, the Regent directs his minister to the Assemblie, schawin he had receavit a letter from the Quein of Eingland, informing his grace that the Princes of Germanie war to keipe a Generall Convention at Magdeburg, for ratefieing of the Augustan Confession, whar wald be present lernit Commissionars from all Protestant princes ; and that hir Majestie was to send, requyring him to do the sam. The Regent's grace, thairfor, desyrit the Assemblie to nominat the persones, and he sould mak provision. The Assemblie nominat Mr Andro Melvill, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, and Mr George Hay ; bot when ther was an appeirance of the bischoprie the ambassadrie fealit.⁵]

Mr Patrik taking him to the bischoprie, the suffragantes roum is filled atteanes⁶ be Mr David Cuninghame, wha leived Glasgw and the guid cause, and becomes the Regent's minister, bot with a curs accompaning him ; for he haid never that wealthe nor estimation efter quhilk he haid befor, whowbeit within a yeir advancit to the bischoprik of Aberdein ; and nocht onlie sa, bot became, soone efter the Erle of Morton's execution, an of the [maist] miserable wretches in all the West country, lyand debochit and out of credit,

¹ Before.² Familiarity, interchange of friendly offices.³ Were given up.⁴ Till.⁵ This paragraph on margin of MS.⁶ At once.

in a cot hous, him selff at the an syde of the fyre, and his cow at the uther! Thus God cursed that bischoprie of his; but as for Mr Patrik's, we will haiff mair ado with it heirefter.

[This yeir, in the wintar, appeired a terrible Comet, the stern¹ wharof was verie grait, and proceiding from it toward the est a lang teall, in appeirance, of an eall² and a halff, lyk unto a bissom or scourge maid of wands, all fyrie. It rease nightlie in the south-weast, nocht above a degrie and an halff ascending above the horizon, and continowed about a sax oukes, or twa monethe, and piece and piece weir away. The graittest effects wharof that out of our cuntry we hard was a grait and mightie battell in Barbaria in Afric, wharin thrie kings war sleane, with a huge multitud of peiple. And within the cuntry, the chasing away of the Hamiltones: For whowbeit the Regent, soone efter the taking of the government upon him, maid a law of oblivion, yit the Hous of Mar consentit nocht thairto, thinking the young King, whom they haid in keiping, could never be sure sa lang as the Hamiltones keipit ther roumes; and thairfor maid a read³ against them the sam simmer, wherby the Lords of Arbrothe and Pasley, with the specialles of thair frinds, namlie, sic as war giltie of the guid Regent's murthour, fled away in Eingland. The Castell of Hamilton, keipit a whyll be Arthour of Mirritoun, was takin and demolissed to the ground, and the said Arthour execut at Stirling in my sight; wha died verie penitentlie and weill, to my grait edification, being the first execution that ever I saw, except of a witche in St Androis, against the quhilk Mr Knox delt from pulpit, sche being set upe at a pillar befor him. Lyk as, I haiff hard the sam maist notable servant of God, almost ordinarlie, threttin these Hamiltones maist ferfullie for the murder of the gud Erle of Murray, Regent. The Lord Arbrothe maried the Countes of Cassels, sistar to the Lord Glammes, then Chancellor, wharby he gat tolerance for a schort tyme. But the wintar befor the said Chancellor being cut of at Stirling, in the simmer following he was fean to flie away. The minister of Ha-

¹ Star, nucleus.² Ell, yard.³ Raid, or incursion.

milton, Mr Jhone Davidsonsone, a guid man, haid admonissed and thretned that Castell for ryot, hurdome, &c. ; and saw in a vision, as I hard him record, a grait arm, with a sword in the neff,¹ standing above the Castell, quhilk, with swift force stricking down upon it, did overthrow the sam to the grund, and thairefter coming down throw the wood and town, did spoile and hurt the sam.²]

M.D.LXXVII.

The yeir following, 1577, the Generall Assemblie convened at Edinbruche in October, whar the Heades of the Polecie war ordeanit to be drawin in conclusiones ; and certean breithrer apointed to gather togidder the travelles of the breithring from all partes, and digest and put the sam in ordour, drawing tham in certean propositiones, for brevitie.

At that Assemblie, Mr Patrik Adamsone is fund to haiff intrusit him selff in the bishoprik of St Androis, against the actes and ordinances of the Kirk ; and thairfor ordeanit to be proceedit against be his Synodall. Bot, as he was wounderfull craftie, he offerit to ley down all at the feit of the breithring, and be ordourit at the pleasure of the Assemblie, whow soone the sam war throuche and at a point with the mater of the Polecie ; and sa, with fear promises, drifted and pat aff till he gat his tyme.

About the end of that sam October, ther was an uther Assemblie haldin at Edinbruche, at the quhilk the Heids of the Polecie war reported, digest in order. They war ordeanit, efter revising, to be put *in mundo*, and presented to the Regent's grace ; and certean breithring nominat to confer with his grace thairanent, and a dyet sett at Stirling for the sam.

During all these Assemblies and earnest indevors of the breithring, the Regent is often requyrit to giff his presence to the Assemblie, and fordar³ the cause of God ; bot nocht onlie in effect refuses, bot uses grait thretning against the maist zelus breithring, schoring⁴ to hang of thame, utherwayes ther could be na peace nor ordour in

¹ Hand.² Margin of MS.³ Further.⁴ Threatening.

the countrey. Sa, ever resisting the wark of discipline in hand, bure fordwart his Bischopes, and pressed to his injunctiounes and conformitie with Eingland; and, but¹ question, haid steyed² the wark, giff God haid nocht steired upe a faction of the Nobilitie against him, wha maid a grait convocation at the Faw-kirk, and haid almost com to straks, giff the Einglis Ambassatour, a guid, godlie man, and lover of our nation, Mr Robert Bowes, with the Chancellar's guidnes and wesdome, haid nocht steyit for taking ordour; wherwith a Convention was sett in Stirling of the Esteates, and the breithring nominat and apointed be the Assemblie weating on, fell out that unhappie murdour of that lerned and guid noble man, Lord Glammes, Chancellar, sleane in a tumult be a schot of a pistolet in the head.³ Whom when God had sa taken away from the Regent Mortoun, his contrar faction drawes a draught at annes⁴ to cause the King, now about fourtein yeirs of age, to tak the government in his awin persone; wharby Morton is compellit to go to the Market Cross of Edinbruche, in solemne maner, and giff over his Regentschipe, and all publict administration of the realme.

This Regent, Erle of Mortoun, was a man ever cast upon the best syde, and did honestlie and stoutlie in the cause. He lovit Mr Knox whill he was alyve. At his deathe and buriall he gaiff him ane honorable testimonie, "That he nather fearit nor flatterit anie fleche!" and, efter his deathe, was frindlie to his wyff and childring. He was verie wyse, and a guid Justiciar, in administration. His fyve yeirs war estimed to be als happie and peacable as ever Scotland saw. The name of a Papist durst nocht be hard of; ther was na theiff nor oppressour that durst kythe.⁵ Bot he could nocht suffer Chryst to reing⁶ frielie be rebuking of sinne, bot maid oppo-

¹ Without.² Delayed.³ "Mr Andro maid upon him this Epigram:—

"Tu, Leo magne, jacis inglorius; ergo manebunt
Qualia fata canes? Qualia fata sues?"

Sen lawlie lyes thow noble Lyon fyne,

What sall betyde behind to dogges and swyne?" Margin of MS.

⁴ His opponents at once devise a stratagem.⁵ Shew himself.⁶ Reign.

sition to the ministrie of Edinbruche in publict place; nor be the right government of his Kirk be the Presbyterie of his lawfullie callit pastors and elders, mislyked the Assemblies Generall, and wald haiff haid the name thair of changit, that he might abolishe the previlage and force thair of. Wharunto my uncle, Mr Andro, specialie opponit him selff, and thairby, and for the Bischops, incurrit his special indignation; [and thairabout first discordit with Mr David Lindsay, to whom he was comounlie contradictor, saying, that Maister Knox haid commendit him to the Court all his dayes; that he was a guid mid-man, and maker of brues¹ amangs men, bot sould nocht haiff place betwix God and man. Yit, in effect, the said Mr David keipit honest in the cause of the discipline till it was concludit, and efter.] He sought to insinuat him selff, efter the leying doun of his Regentrie in the King's favour and sum Counsallours, be twa things in speciall that concernit the King's weill and the realmes. Ane, that the King might be a frie King and monarche, haiffing the rewell and power of all Esteates, quhilk the Kirk's Generall Assemblie empeared.² Ane uther, to be conform with Eingland in the Kirk's Polecie; to haiff Bischopes to rewll the Kirk, and they to be answerable to the King, and sa the frie preatching repressed. With this, he was wouderfullie giffen to gather gear, thairby, as he said, to inritche the King withall. Thir things, whowbeit humblit, yit he amended nocht, bot keipit out of his course till he might do na mair, and then glorifiet God, as in the awin place salbe declarit.

[This yeir, in the simmer, God brought ham Mr Thomas Smeton, a man of singular giftes of lerning and godlines, a grait benefit to his Kirk, and speciall blessing of my guid God, for me in particular.³]

M.D.LXXVIII.

The Generall Assemblie conveyit at Edinbruche in Apryll 1578, in the Magdalen Chapell.⁴ Mr Andro Melvill was schosin Modera-

¹ Reconciler of quarrels, peace-maker.

² Impaired.

³ Margin of MS.

⁴ "At this Assemblie war a number of questiones giffen in from Court be Alexander Hay, Clark Register, and the answers thair of cravit at diverse Assemblies thairefter, for the Courtes profit." Margin of MS.

tor, whar was concludit, That Bischopes sould be callit be thair awin names, or be the names of "Breither," in all tyme coming, and that lordlie name and authoritie banissed from the Kirk of God, quhilk hes bot a¹ Lord, Chryst Jesus. Also the hail Heids of the Polecie, put in propositiones, and sett in ordour, war ratified and allowit, except a litle of the Diaconat to be farther advysit. *Item*, That na Bischope sould be elected or maid thairefter, nor na Minister consent thairto, under the pean of deprivation. *Item*, The leat murder of the Lord Glames, Chancellor, regreted; and for that blud and uthers, for the King's prosperus government, undertaken newlings² in his awin person, and for the guid acceptation of the wark of the Polecie and Discipline of the Kirk now concludit, and to be presented to his Majestie and Counsall, ther was a Generall Fast concludit to be zealuslie keipit throwout the land.

[When the Assemblie haid concludit the Discipline, diverse of the breithring, as namlie, Mr Andro Melvill and Andro Hay, desyrit the sam to be subscriyvit be the hail breithring. To the quhilk Mr Patrik Adamsone answered, "Nay, we haif an honest man, our Clark, to subscriyve for all; and it war to derogat to his fathfulness and estimatioun, gif we sould all severalie subscriyve." "Weill," sayes Mr Andro Hay, "gif anie man com against this, or deny it heirefter, he is nocht honest." And to Mr Patrik he said, before thrie or fower, "Ther is my hand, Mr Patrik; gif yie com against this heirefter, consenting now sa thorowlie to it, I will call yow a knave, and³ it war never sa publictlie!" Mr Patrik receaves the conditioun: Bot at the presenting of the conclusiounes befor the Regent and Counsall, the Regent askes Mr Patrik, gif he haid assented thairto? He denyit it, and that he haid refusit to subscriyve it. Wherupon the said Conclusiounes of Discipline war refused be the Counsall. The cause wharof, when Mr Andro Hay haid inquyred at diverse honorable Counsellors, they leyd the wait⁴ on the said Mr Patrik; wha coming by in the mean tyme, Mr Andro Hay takes him be the hand befor the said Counsallour, and dispytfullie

¹ One.² Newly.³ If.⁴ Wyte, blame.

to his face sayes, " O knave! knave! I will crown thee the knave of all knaves!"¹]

The Assembly thairefter conveyned at Stirling in July, that sam yeir; wherin the form of conclusion, as in all the former Assemblies, sa in that, was, That the Kirk, all in a voice, hes concludit the haill articles and propositiounes of the Buik of the Polecie of the Kirk, to be conform to the Word of God, and meit for the Esteat of the Kirk in this land; and ordeanes the sam, with a supplication, to be presented to the King's Majestie. The quhilk was done, and his Hienes gaiff a verie comfortable and guid answer thairanent, nominating certean of his Counsall to confer with the breithring apointed be the Kirk thairupon.

That yeir my uncle dedicat to the King his Carmen Mosis, with certean Epigrammes, and a chapter of Job in vers, quhilk put all men in hope of graitter warks; but partlie his grait occupationes and distractiones, partlie, as he wes wount to say, *Scribillantium et scripturientium turba*; and cheiflie, that he thought the tyme maist profitablie bestowit in doing, teatching, and framing of guid instruments for the meaintenance of the treuthe and wark of the ministerie and scholles, moved him to neglect wraitting, except of verses and epigrammes, as his humor and occasiones moved him; wharof he hes, in his peapers, a grait number; and nocht a few, as *Carmina Sybillina*, lost. Bot for commendation of thrie notable verteus in him, thrie things, amangs manie ma, I man recompt:² Interpretation of dreames, patience, and heroic stoutnes.

The Collage haid monie playes in law depending that yeir, and Mr Piter Blakburn was CEconomus and speciall actor; yit, because the æstimation of Mr Andro was graitter, he desyrit him at certean peremptor dyettes to be present in Edinbruche. For sic a dyet, being to go to Edinbruche, Mr Piter comes in to his chalmer in the morning, heavie and grim-lyk. Being inquyrit be the Prin-

¹ Margin of MS.

² Among many more, which I must recount.

cipall what ealed him, he answerit, "I haiff dreamed an unsall¹ dream, and I am sum thing solist² efter it."—"What is it?" sayes he. "Methought we war sitting at our Collage burde, and a cap full of barmie drink befor us. I luiked to the cap, and I thought I saw a read-headit tead lope³ out of it, and craled⁴ upe upon the wall, the quhilk I perceived and dang down, and tramped under my feit; and as I turned, I saw an uther lope out also, quhilk, whowbeit I followed, it gat away in a holl out of my sight."—"Be nocht solist," sayes he, "Mr Piter; I will interpret your dream, and warrand the interpretation trew, for a pynt of wyne!"—"For suthie," sayes the uther, "and it be guid, a quart!"—"The Collage burd and cap is our Collage leiving, into the quhilk twa read-nebbit teades hes intrusit thamselff. They ar the twa read-neased Compeditours⁵ of our Collage, against the quhilk yie haiff presentlie the actiones, viz. Jhone Grame, the first whom yie persewing at this dyet, clim als weill as he will on the wall of the law, yie sall ding down and owercome. The uther is the read-faced Commissar, Mr Archbald Beaton, wha be some wyll sall eschew presentlie, and win away. Assure thyself, man, thow sall find it sa." Mr Piter lauches, and sayes he was worthe the wyne, whow ever it was; for the twa men war verie read and tead-lyk faced, for ploukes and lumpes. And in deid it cam sa to pass, for they brought hame a notable decreit of reduction of a few of the Freires-yearde against Jhone Grame; and the uther, by moyen and earnest solistation, gat the action de-layit, and brought to arbitrimint.

[I haiff also marked manie experiences in him of wounderfull sagacitie and smelling out of men's naturalls and dispositiones; sa that tho' sum haid bein never sa fair-farrand⁶ and curteus, he could nocht gif tham a guid countenance nor word; quhilk, in deid, wald prove ill men. Uthers, altho' nocht of sa guid apeirance, he wald lyk of, and be hamlie with, wha wald prove weil. Of bathe the sortes, I could rackon divers be nam and surnam, but it is nocht

¹ Unlucky, unfortunate.² Anxious, solicitous.³ A red-headed toad leap.⁴ Crawled.⁵ Red-nosed accountants or treasurers.⁶ Plausible.

expedient; onlie an I can nocht omit, wha about this tyme was ordeanit be the Generall Assemblie to be tean ordour withall be the Synod of Glasgw, for deserting of his ministerie; wha, be his fear civill facions fund favour with all except Mr Andro, wha, delling scharplie with him for his desertion of the ministerie, gat this answer: "I will nocht profes povertie."—"O then," sayes Mr Andro to him, "yow will deny nocht onlie the ministerie, bot also trew Christianitie." This man was Mr Jhone Colvin, first apostat fra the ministerie, and syne fra trew Christian religion to foull Papistrie !¹]

Now, for his patience; whowbeit he was verie hat in all questiones, yit when it twitched his particular,² no man could crab³ him, contrair to the comoun custome; as, amangs manie uther, I marked this.—My Lord Hearise haid a sone in the Collage, named Jhone, wha was drawin away from his studies and ordour be sum young men of the town, namlie, a burgess air named Andro Heriot. The Principall calles for Jhone, and reproving him, sayes, "What? hes my Lord, your father, send yow heir to spend your tyme with debauchit persones of the town?" &c. This was tauld Andro Heriot, wha, partlie of intemperat disposition, and partlie, as was supposed, be the Collage mislykers stired upe, cam to Mr Andro, the Principall, a day efter sermont, coming out of the Kirk, haiffing all his schollars and Regents at his bak, and quarrels him schamfullie with manie thows and lyes; continowing from the Kirk almaist down to the Collage, quhilk is a grait space, yea, with sword about him, with menassings and brawlles; but Mr Andro verie patientlie and meiklie answers never a word bot "God facher!⁴ what hes muvit yow yie neid to bost?⁵ We ar ma nor yie."⁶ The schollars war out of thair wittes, and fean wald haiff put hands in him; bot he rebuiked tham in sic sort that they durst nocht steir. As for my self,

¹ The author has made the above addition on the margin of MS. ² When it concerned his own private interest.

³ Enrage or put him out of temper.

⁴ Good faith!

⁵ Scold, threaten.

⁶ We are more in numbers than you are.

for als patient as I am called, I doucht nocht¹ suffer it, bot withdrew my selff from him.

Within a schort space efter, the said Andro contractes a fiver, of the quhilk he died ; and a day or twa befor, he send for the Principall, wha glaidlie cam and visit him ; wha, with grait remorse, confessit his offence, and commendit the uther's grait patience, saying, That he haid win a graitter victorie of him, nor giff he haid sufferit his schollars to ding out his harnes !² and oft tymes embracing and kissing him for the sweit confort he bestowed on him, being sa unworthie, cryed ay for him sa lang as the breathe was in him ; and sa gaiff upe the ghaist, being a lustie youthe in his mide-age.

The young man, Jhòne Maxuell, partlie eschewing discipline, and partlie, as was supposed, caried away be the counsall of Papists, (for he haid gottin evill groundes thair of, and all his father's house, be Mr Gilbert Broun, Abbot of New Abey,) left the Collage, and abad³ in the town. Bot whowsoone the Lord Heres, his father, hard of it, he cam to the town, scharplie rebuked his sone, and brought him to the Collag, efter he haid lovinglie and maist curteslie delt with the Principall, causit the hail maisters and disciples convey in the verie closs of the Collage ; and ther, in presence of all, austerlie commandit his sone to sitt down upon his knees, and humblie offer him selff to what sort of discipline the Principall of the Collage and his Regent (against whome cheiffie he haid bein refractar) wald put him to. The young man obeyit humblie, and the Principall lifted him upe be the hand, efter promise of amendiment ; and, efter reconciliation, he enterit him to the Regent againe, humblie presenting to him a piece of golde. What that Lord Heres was utherwayes, I leave it to the Cornicle ; bot in this he left a notable exemple to all noble men and fathers to follow.

For fordar verification of his grait patience, because he wald seim verie hat and impatient : At our table, comounlie at mealles and efter, was movit be him sum question of philosophie or artes, namlie,

¹ Could not.

² Knock out his brains.

³ Abode.

for this end to schaw that Aristotle could err, and haid erred, contrar to S. Androis axiom, *Absurdum est dicere errasse Aristotelem*. Mr Piter Blakburn, our coleg, was a bitter propugnar of Aristotle ; a verie guid and lerned man, bot rud and carlissee of nature ; and when he could nocht bear out his defence be reasone, he wald do it be coler and invection upon the persone of Mr Andro, that he was arrogant, proud, and full of his awin sence ; but when it cam to that, the argument seassed, for the Principall never spak a word mair. And be this form of doing he wan Mr Piter from monie baith wrang opinionones and evill fasones ; for the guid, honest-harted man, frie from his coler, eschamed of him selff, amendit him selff. And this I marked ever to be Mr Androes maner : Being sure of a truethe in reasoning, he wald be extream hat, and suffer na man to bear away the contrar ; bot with reasone, words, and gesture, he wald carrie it away, caring for na persone, whow grait soever they war, namlie, in maters of relligion. And in all companies, at table or utherwayes, as he understud and tuk up the necessitie of the personones and mater in hand to requyre, he wald frilie and baulddie hauld thair eares fow of the treuthe ; and tak it as they wald, he wald nocht ceas nor keipe sylence ; yea, and nocht onlie ance or twyse, bot at all occasionones, till he fand tham better instructed, and sett to go fordwart in the guid purpose. And verelie, be lang experience, I haiff knawin him to haiff done as mikle guid in sic conferences and meittings as be his publict doctrine ; for sic as war willing to understand in sa doing, he pleasurit tham mair and mair ; and sic as wer nocht, he suffered never to rest till he ather brought tham from ther contrarie mynd, or els discovered a perverss disposition against the truethe. Giff he haid nocht bein throuche and resolut him selff in a mater, he wald haiff hard verie patientlie and quietlie, and reasonit thairupon caldie and camlie aneuche till he war fullie resolvit, and fand his grounds sure. But for his awine particular, in persone, gear, or fame, I knew him never hard in publict with anie man to this houre.

Now for his heroic courage and stoutness : The Regent, seeing

he could nocht divert him [be] benefits and offers, he calles for him a day indirectlie, and, efter lang discoursing upon the quyetnes of the cowntrey, peace of the Kirk, and advancment of the King's Majestie's estate, he brak in upon sic as war disturbers thair of be thair conceats and owersie¹ dreames, imitation of Genev discipline and lawes; and, efter sum reasoning and grundes of God's Word alleagit, quhilk irritat the Regent, he braks out in coler and bosting:² —“Ther will never be quyetnes in this countrey, till halff a dissone of yow be hangit or banished the countrey!” —“Tushe! sir,” sayes Mr Andro; “*Purpuratis tuis ista minitare mihi, idem est humi an sublime putrescam: Domini est terra. Patria est ubicunque, est bene.* I haiff bein ready to giff my lyff whar it was nocht halff sa weill wared, at the pleasour of my God. I leived out of your countrey ten yeirs as weill as in it. Let God be glorified, it will nocht ly in your power to hang nor exyll his treuthe!”

[This Regent objected against the Generall Assemblie, That it was [a] convocation of the King's leiges. Mr Andro answerit, “That Chryst and his Apostles war giltie of that cryme, wha conveinit with houndrethes and thowsands, taught tham, and governed without anie leive of the magistrat; and yit did all dewtie to Cæsar, and bade giff him that quhilk was his.” *Item*, Mr Andro alleaging a place of the Actes to the said Regent, the Regent sayes tantinglie, “Read yie ever of sic an act as we did at St Jhonstoun?” Answeres Mr Andro: “Gif yie be escheamed of that act, Chryst wilbe escheamed of yow!” The Reformatioun of Relligioun in Scotland was don as the men in the Gospell, wha, bringing a man seik of the palsey, careid be foursome in a bed, brak the houss abone whar Chryst was, unasking leive of the gudman and maister thair of, for the grait desyre quhilk they haid to com to Chryst for the man's helthe. Yit Chryst fand na fault thairwith; bot seing thair fathe, approved the sam, and healed the man. Sa throw zeall the kingdom of Heavin suffered violence at the beginning, and men sought to com to Chryst without asking leive of King or Cæsar.³]

¹ Far-fetched, over-sea. ² Choler and scolding. ³ What is contained within brackets has been added, at a subsequent period, by the author on the margin of MS.

Monie siclyk hes he hard, and for me reported in mair ferfull form; bot for all nevir jarged a jot ather from the substance of the cause, or forme of proceeding thairin. Bot a piece of storie I man report, steirit upe in particular against him in my persone.

The Lord Boid was grait with the Regent, and haid a cusing in our Collage, named Alexander Boid, a youthe of a grait spreit and ingyne, bot verie commersom and refractar.¹ He haid pleyit the companion wickedlie with the maister in the grammar schul, and siclyk with the first regent the first yeir of his course in the Collage. The nixt yeir he comes to me: At his entrie I delt with him fearlie, and besought him to be weill conditioned, and he sould find na thing in me bot speciall courtessie and affectione; bot giff he sould preass to missuse me, and mak trouble as he haid done to his maisters befor, for als meik as I seimed, he wald find me scharper nor anie he haid delt with. Upon this premonition he continowes half a yeir as guid a bern as was in the seage.² Till taking occasion of Mr Thomas Smetone's companie, in the quhilk I mikle de-lyted, I past with him to Edinbruche to fetch ham his wyff; and befor my going, I tuk exact ordour with my schollars, injoyning large task to tham, and apointing of censurers and deleattors of all ther behaviour. Coming ham again, I fand the said Alexander often deleated in grait faultes, namlie, absenting him selff from the kirk, and plying the loun on the Sabbath. I begin to deall with him in words; he disdeanes and vilipends with misbehaviour in words and countenance; I command him to correction, he rebelles: To be schort, I wald nocht be deforcit; and he gat his deat peyit, bot indeid far within his demearit. He sittes down in a nuk fra my sight, and whill I was teatching my lessone, he takes his pen and ink-horn, and striks him selff on the face and nease³ till effusion of bluid; he ryves⁴ his buik, and dightes⁵ his nease with the leaves thair of, and drawes the bluid athort⁶ his face, and spots his clothes with the saming;⁷ and incontinent efter the lessone rinnes out of

¹ Quarrelsome and refractory.² Form, seat. Fr. *siege*.³ Nose.⁴ Tears.⁵ Wipes.⁶ Across, athwart.⁷ Same.

the Collage, and away and compleanes to his frinds he was sa mis-usit crewalie be me. The Principall and Maisters at the bruit,¹ and my deasyre, takes tryell, and finds it as is spoken. He byds away fra the Collage a monethe; about the end wharof, on a simmer evening efter supper, I was coming out of the Castell with twa of my companions, whar we haid bein visiting a guid gentleman, wha, unbeset be twasum,² haid defendit him self notablie, being weill fensed,³ till his dagger cas [was] cut in pices, and brought to extream danger of his lyff, was compellit ather to slay an of tham or be slean. For the quhilk apprehendit, he was detained in pressone in the Castell, whar we customablie visited him, and lernit of him to fence. Sa, coming from him in the kirk-yard, my schollar lying in weat with an⁴ Alexander Cuningham, sistar-sone to the Lord Boid, wha hounds out the youthe with a baton in his hand to strik me behind my bak. Heiring the sound of his feit, I turned and spak a few words, at the quhilk the boy rinnes by me and luiks for his helper, Alexander Cuninghame, wha cam with speid efter him with a drawin sword and monie bludie words. The twa that war with me saw nocht this Alexander, bot ran and tuk the boy; sa Alexander leyes out a strak at me with the sword, quhilk, declyning⁵ my bodie a litle, I eschewed, and closing with him, I gripped his sword arm under my left oxter, and with my right hand caucht his quhingar,⁶ haiffing na kynd of wapean upon my self, and bids him stand. Withe this, incontinent my twa companiones commes and sinders us; sa my God keipit me that night, bothe from doing or receaving anie fordar harme. Coming to the Collage, I schew the mater to the Principall, wha first commandit all the schollars to thair bedds, perceaving tham incensit: And, fearing a wark of the Devill to deboiche tham from ther studies, enter tham in blud, and wrak the wholl Collage, yit wald noch suffer the preparative to pass untean ordour with, upon the morn conveynes the Rector and Magistrats of the town, according to the ordour, and cites the parties

¹ Rumour, report. Fr. *bruit*.
the art of self-defence.

⁴ One.

² Attacked or beset by two.

⁵ Stooping.

³ Skilled in

⁶ Short sword.

befor tham. I compeir; the uther is contumax, and perseveres in his bost.¹ The mater is tryed exactlie. They decern Alexander Cuninghame, for his wrang, to come to the place whar it was done, and ther, humblie, bear-futted and bear-headet, to crave the Rectour, the Principall, and me, the persone offendit, forgiffnes. This being notefied to Alexander, he malings, and vowes² ther sould be graitteir cause maid or anie forgiffnes cravit.

Ther na thing was noysit sa mikle in the countrey, as the Boids and Cuninghams wald slay the Maisters and burn the Collage. Bot the Principall jarget never a whit,³ nor movit him selff, whowbeit sum of us war right fleyd;⁴ but send and reasit Letters, and summoned Alexander befor the King and Secreit Counsall, wha compeired with a grait number of his frinds, thinking to bost us fra it; bot we cam befor the King and Counsall at St Androis, producit the proces and decreit of the Rector and Bailies of Glasgw, and obtained the sam to be ratefiet; and the said Alexander chargit to fulfill and obey it sic a day, or then to enter in ward within the Castell of Blaknes.

Coming ham to Glasgw, and the day approtching, our speciall frinds dealt with us, namlie, the Rector, Mr Andro Hay, a man of grait moyen⁵ in the countrey, to quyt that decreit and forgiff it, seing ther was na evill done, utherwayes he was certified it wald com to war,⁶ for the man was neir in blod on the father syde to the Erl of Glencarn, and on the mother's to the Lord Boid, the naturall and fasones wharof he knew, [that they wald nocht suffer ther blud sched (as they alleagit) unrevengit.⁷] The Principall answers, "Giff they wald haiff forgiffnes, let them crave it humblie, and they sall haiff it; but or that preparative pass, that we dar nocht correct our scholars for fear of bangstars and clanned gentlemen, they sall haiff all the blud of my body first!" Sa the day comes, at the quhilk the Lord Boid comes to Glasgw, accompanied with all his frinds; so comes my Lord of Glencarn with his, to the number of four or fyve

¹ Threat.² Maligns, or curses and vows.³ Never swerved a whit.⁴ Were much afraid.⁵ Influence.⁶ Worse would befall.⁷ Margin.

houndrethe gentilmen. The Principall is delt with be diverse intercessors nocht to present the place : Bot terrifie as they wald, he sayes, " They that will go with me go ; they that are fleyd,¹ let them tarie !" And sa the Rector, the Principall, and I, with our schollars at our bak, in our gowns, com to the kirk-yearde, and stude at the place wher I was unbesett ; the kirk-yearde being full of gentlemen, giffes place. Then comes Alexander, arrayit in his best abulyment, in the middes of twa gentlemen, wherof an was the eldest brother of my schollar, the uthir his neirest frind ; and the said Alexander, bear-headit and bear-futed, and offers to fulfill the decreit giff anie wald accept of it. " Dout nocht of the acceptation," answers the Principall : " We are heir readie !" And sa the said Alexander, in presence of all his frinds, to bear him witness, recited the words of the decreit, and obeyed conform to everie circumstance. The quhilk, when the gentilmen saw, wha, for the maist part, knew nocht for what cause they cam, luche him to skorn, spendit thrie or four hounder mark in the town, and returned, as they confessit, grait-ter fulles nor they cam a-field !

Now to Mr Thomas Smeton, of whom I maid mention befor. I marked the wonderfull guidnes and providence of God towards his Kirk in this realme, wha, as first efter the blud of these martyrs, Mr George Wischart and Walter Miln, steired up Mr Knox to effectuat the wark of Reformation ; and taking him to his rest, send ham Mr Andro Melvill for continuance of zeall and sinceritie, with exquisit literature and knowlage, and for putting on of the ceapsteane of the trew and right discipline and polecie. Sa, when the course of Papietrie begoud againe to creipe in be the alteration of the government, and Guisian counsall² entering about the King, then God plucked out from amangs the Jesuits a wadge of thair awin timber, wherwith to rent and cross thair deceaits. This was Mr Thomas Smeton, wha, in that jorney to Edinbruche, recompted to me the strange wirking of God with him ; this in soum :³ — That at the

¹ Afraid, terrified. ² The council or policy of the House of Guise. ³ A summary.

Reformation of Religion, he being put from the Auld Collage of St Androis, past to France, whare in Paris he thought mikle upon the trew way of salvation, and be dealling of diverse of his acquentance, namlie, Mr Thomas Matteland, a young gentilman of guid literature and knowlage in the treuthe of religion, was brought to ken and be inclynde to the best way. Whar also he was acquentit with my uncle, Mr Andro, and Mr Gilbert Moncreiff. Yit lothe to alter his mynd wherin he was brought upe, and fand him selff sum tyme fullie perswadit in the mater of his fathe and salvation, he thought he wald leave na thing untryed and esseyit pertaining therto. And understanding that the ordour of the Jesuits was maist lerned, halie, and exquisit in the Papistrie, he resolvit to enter in thair ordour, during the years of probation ; at the end wharof, giff he fand him selff satted in his auld fathe, he wald continow a Jesuist ; and giff he fand nocht amangs tham that might remove all the douttes he was cast into, it was bot folie to seik fordar ; he wald yeild unto that light that God, be the earnest delling of his loving frinds and companions, haid enterit him into. And sa he enterit in the Jesuists' Collage at Paris, whar he fand Mr Edmond Hay, a verie loving frind, to whom he communicat all his mynd. Mr Edmond, seing him worthie to be win to tham, and giffen to larning and sight, directes him to Rome ; and be the way he cam to Genev, whar Mr Andro Melvill and Mr Gilbert Moncreiff being for the tyme, he communicat with tham his purpose, and cravit thair prayers. Of his purpose they could sie na guid warrand, but thair prayers they promisit hartlie. Sa, making na stey ther, he past fordwart to Rome, whar he was receavit in the Jesuists' Collage gladlie. In the quhilk Collage was a father hauldin of best larning and prudence, wha was ordeanit to travell with sic as wer detained in pressone, for religion, to convert tham. Of him he cravit that he might accompanie him, at sic tymes, when he went to deall with these presoners ; quhilk was granted to him. Be the way as they cam from the presoners to the Collage, quhilk was neir a myll, Mr Thomas wald tak the argument of the presoners, and mentein it against the Jesuist for reasoning's cause, and indeid to be resolvit ; and the

more he insisted he fand the treuthe the stranger, and the Jesuist's answers never to satisfie him.

This way he continowit about a yeir and a halff in Rome, till at last he becam suspitiu¹; and thairfor was remitted bak to Paris, throw all the Collages of the Jesuists be the way; in all the quihilks he endeavorit mair and mair to haiff his douttes resolvit, bot fand him self ay fordard and fordard confirmed in the veritie. Coming to Paris again, he abaid ther a space, verie lovinglie interteined be Mr Edmond; till at last he could nocht bot discover him self to Mr Edmond; to whom, he sayes, he was also mikle behauldin as to anie man in the warld: For nochtwithstanding that he perceavit his mynd turned away from thair ordour and religion, yit he ceased nocht to counsell him, frindlie and fatherlie, and suffered him to want na thing. And being a verie wyse man, he thinks to keipe Mr Thomas quyet, and nocht to suffer him to kythe² an adversar against them. Perceaving, thairfor, the young man to be giffen to his buik, he giffes him this counsell, to go to a quyet Collage, situat in a welthie and pleasant part in Lorain, whair he sould haiff na thing to do but attend upon his buiks; whair he sould haiff all the Antient Doctors, and sic buiks as yie pleasit to reid; he sould leak na necessars; thair he sould keipe him quyet till God wrought fordard with him; utherwayes he wald cast him self in grait danger. Thair was na thing that could allure Mr Thomas mair nor this, and thairfor he resolved to follow his counsell; and taking jorney, went towards Lorain, whair be the way the Lord leyes his hand upon him, and visites him with an extream fever, casting him in uttermaist pean and perplexitie of body and mynd. Thair he faught a maist strang and ferfull battell in his conscience; bot God at last prevealing, he determines to schaw him self, abandone that damnable societie, and utter in plean profession the treuthe of God, and his enemies' falshoda, hypocrasie, and craft. Sa, coming bak to Paris again, he takes his leive of Mr Edmont, wha yit, nochtwithstanding, kythes na thing bot lovin frindschipe to him, and at his parting

¹ Suspected.

² Turn out, prove, or manifest himself to be.

giffes thrie counsalles : 1. To reid and studie the Ancient Doctors of the kirk, [and nocht to trow¹ the ministers ;] 2. To go ham to his awin countrey ; and, thridlie, To marie a wyff. From that he manifested him self amangs the professours of religion, till the tyme of the Massacre² quhilk schortlie ensewit ; at the quhilk being narrowlie sought, he cam to the Engliis Ambassator, Mr Secretarie Walsingham, in whase housse, lyand at Paris for the tyme, as in a comoun girthe,³ he, with manie ma, war seaff. With whome also he cam to Eingland soone efter, whar he remeaned scholmaister at Colchester till his coming to Scotland.

At his coming in Scotland, he was gladlie content to be in companie with my uncle, Mr Andro ; and sa aggreit to be minister at Pasley, in place of Mr Andro Pulwart, wha enterit to the Sub-deanrie of Glasgw, when Mr David Cuninghame was bischopit in Aberdein. A litle efter his placing, Mr Andro, Principall of the Collage, put in his hand Mr Archbald Hamiltone's apostat's buik, *De Confusione Calvinæ Sectæ apud Scotos* ; and, efter conference thairanent, movit him to mak answer to the sam, quhilk was published in print the yeir following, to the grait contentment of all the godlie and lernit. Mr Thomas was verie wacryff⁴ and peanfull,⁵ and skarslie tuk tyme to refreche nature. I haiff sein him oft find fault with lang denners and suppers at Generall Assemblies ; and when uthers wer thairat, he wald abstein, and be about the penning of things, (wherin he excellit, bathe in langage and form of letter,) and yit was nocht rustic nor auster, bot sweit and affable in companie, with a modest and naive⁶ gravitie ; verie frugall in fude and reyment, and walked maist on fut ; whom I was verie glad to accompanie, whylls to Sterling, and now and then to his kirk, for my instruction and comfort. He lovit me exceiding weill, and wald at parting thrust my head in his bosome and kis me.

He being weill acquainted with the practizes of Papists, namlie, Jesuists, and thair devyces for subverting of the Kirk of Scotland,

¹ Believe. Margin. ² The Massacre of St Bartholomew's Eve. ³ Sanctuary.
⁴ Wakeful, taking little sleep. ⁵ Pains-taking. ⁶ Lively, natural. Fr. *naïf*.

bathe publiclie and privatlie, ceassit nocht to cry and warn ministers and schollars to be diligent upon ther charges and buiks, to studie the controversies, and to tak head they neglected nocht the tyme, for ther wald be a strang unseatt¹ of Papists. Also he was cearfull to know the religion and affection of noble men, insinuating him in thair companie in a wyse and grave maner, and warning tham to be war of evill companie, and nocht to send thair berns to dangerus partes. And, finalie, Mr Andro and he, mervelouslie conspyring in purposes and judgments, war the first motioners of an Anti-Seminarie to be erected in St Androis, to the Jesuist Seminaries, for the course of Theologie; and cessit never, at Assemblies and Court, till that wark was begoun and sett fordwart.

The Generall Assemblie convenit at Edinbruche, October 1578. Therin the Noble men, frequentlie conveynit,² war desyrit to allow of the Polecie of the Kirk by grait peanes and deliberation concludit; and, as they haid accepted the right and trew Confession of the Christian Fathe, sa of the Discipline also drawin out of the word of God. They accepted thair of, and promisit to meantein the sam to ther powar, except in sa far as the King's Majestie and Counsall was nocht resolvit, namlie, of the Diaconerie. Thir Noble men war the Erles of Atholl, Argyll, Montrose, &c., wha haid drawin the faction against the Regent Mortoun; sa it pleasit God to work.

That yeir arryvit Monsieur d'Obignie from France, with instructions and devysses from the Houss of Guise, and with manie Frenche fasones and toyes; and, in effect, with a plean course of Papistrie, to subvert the esteat of the Kirk new planted, bathe with trew doctrin and discipline. He brought with him an Monsieur Mombirneau,³ a subtill spreit, a mirrie fellow, verie able in bodie, and maist meit in all respects for bewitching of the youthe of a

¹ Or *unsaucht*; dispeace, trouble. ² Numerously assembled. ³ "Mr Nicol Dalgles tauld me that this Monbirneu's mother was a verie godlie lady, and schew grait curtessie to tham in France, at Burge in Berie, and warnit tham of M. Obignie's sending in Scotland; wherupon he maid advertisment to the ministers of Edinbruche." Note by the author, inserted on margin of MS.

Prince. They within few dayes insinuat tham selffe sa in favour of the young King, that they gydit all, brought in be Mortone's mislykers, bot to the wrak bathe of him and thame. Under thair winges crape in craftie fellowes, wha maid the Reformation of Religion, and all the guid service done for the King befor, to be bot turbulent and treasonable delling, &c.; against the quhilk the ministers of Edinbruche, lyk fathfull watchmen, maid loud and tymus warning.

M.D.LXXIX.

The Assemblie convenit at Edinbruche in the New Kirk, July 1579. To convoy the inair craftelie and quyetlie the course intendit, thair is presentit from his Majestie a Letter to the Assemblie, schawing his Hienes guid mynd towards the Kirk, and craving the Heads of the Polecie to be presented to the Parliament instant, to be past thairat. This was to conciliat the favour of the Kirk, and mak Mortoun mair odious till they war stranger. *Item*, Bischopes and Superintendents haillie removit, and Commissioners from Assemblie to Assemblie, in number sufficient for the haill realm, acording to the severall Provinces, placed in ther roun. The Bischopes ther began to withdraw tham selves fra the Assemblies, and ordour takin thairanent. The reformation of the Universitie of St Androis intendit, and sutt maid to the King's Majestie thairanent. Presbyteries ordeanit to be erected, and that the Exerceises sould be as Presbyteries in the mean tyme.

It was a maist pleasand and comfortable thing to be present at these Assemblies, thair was sic frequencie and reverence; with halines in zeall at the doctrine quhilk soundit mightelie, and the Sessions at everie meiting, whar, efter earnest prayer, maters war gravlie and cleirly proponit; overtures maid be the wysest; douttes reasonit and discussit be the lernedest and maist quik; and, finalie, all withe a voice concluding upon maters resolved and cleirit, and referring things intricat and uncleired to farder advysment. Namlie, it is to be noted, that in all these Assemblies anent the Polecie, ther was nocht sic a thing as a careing away of anie point with a

number of vottes, an or ma, or by a preoccupied purpose or led course; bot maters indifferentlie proponit, and efter beging light of God, and sersing the Scripture by conference and reasoning discussit, with large and sufficient tyme takin and diligentlie employed for that effect, all with a voice, in an consent and unitie of mynd, determines and concludes.

God glorified him self notablie with that ministerie of Edinbruche, in these dayes. The men haid knowlage, uprichtnes, and zeall; they dwelt verie commodiuslie togidder, as in a Collage, with a wonderfull consent in varietie of giftes, all strak on a¹ string and soundet a harmonie. Jhone Dury was of small literature, bot haid sein and marked the grait warks of God in the first Reformation, and bein a doer bathe with toung and hand. He haid bein a diligent heirar of Mr Knox, and observer of all his wayes. He conceavit the best grounds of maters weill, and could utter tham fearlie, fullie, and fecfullie, with a mightie spreit, voice, and action. The speciall gift I marked in him was halines, and a daylie [and nightlie²] ceartull, continuall walking with God in meditation and prayer. He was a verie guid fallow, and tuk delyt, as his speciall comfort, to haiff his table and houss filled with the best men. These he wald gladlie heir, with tham confer and talk, professing he was bot a buik-bearer, and wald fean lern of thame; and getting the ground and light of knowlage in anie guid poinct, then wald he rejoyse in God, praise and pray thairupon, and urge it with sa cleir and forcible exhortation in Assemblies and pulpit, that he was estimed a verie forderson³ instrument. Ther ludgit in his house at all these Assemblies in Edinbruche, [for comoun,] Mr Andro Melvill, Mr Thomas Smeton, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, thrie of the lernedest in Europe; Mr James Melvill, my uncle, Mr James Balfour, David Fergusone, David Home, ministers; with sum zelus, godlie barrones and gentilmen. In tyme of mealles was reasoning upon guid purposes, namlie, maters in hand; thairefter earnest and lang prayer; thairefter a chaptour read, and everie man about⁴ gaiff his not and observation

¹ One.² Margin of MS.³ Ready, active.⁴ Alternately, one by one.

thairof : Sa that giff all haid bein sett down in wryt, I haiff hard the lernedest and of best judgment say, they wald nocht haiff wissed a fuller and better commentar nor sum tymes wald fall out in that exerceise. Thairefter was sung a Psalme ; efter the quhilk was conference and deliberation upon the purposes in hand ; and at night, befor going to bed, earnest and zealus prayer, according to the esteat and success of maters. And often tymes, yea, almost daylie, all the Collage was togidder in an or uther of thair housses ; for, befor Mr James Lawsons and Mr Walter war maried, they war burdit with Jhone Durie, and efter entring to thair awin housses, keipit exceiding guid fallowschipe togidder.

Heir I man remember a singular benefit of God's providence and government towards me. I was then in the floure of my age, about a twa and twentie and thrie and twentie yeirs ; a young man nocht unlovlie, and of nature verie loving and amorus, quhilk was the proped schot of Sathan wharby to snare me, and spoil the haill wark of God in me. Manie lovers haid I, and sum loves also ; monie occasiones, in dyvers places and sortes of persones, and nocht of inferior rank : Yit my guid God, of his frie grace and love towards me, a vean, vyll, corrupt youthe ; partlie by his fear wrought in my heart, partlie by necessar occupation in my calling, and partlie be a certean schamfastnes of a bashfull nature, quhilk he pat in me, sa keipit me that I was nocht overcome nor miscaried be na woman, offensivlie to his Kirk, nor greivuslie to my conscience, in blotting of my bodie. I markit befor the occasion I haid of larning to sing and play on instruments of music in St Androis, wharof my hart was verie desirus, [bot from grait skill, wherin God keipit me ;] far graitter and sweittar haid I in Glasgw of a gentilman's hous in the town, wha interteined maist expert singars and playars, and brought upe all his berns thairin, namlie, his eldest douchtar, a verie pleasand gentilwoman, endewit with manie guid verteus. I haid everie yeir sum of this gentilman's sonnes my schollars, and be that occasion was hamlie in his hous, and maist lovinglie and hartlie interteined. Affection enterit verie extreamlie betwix that

gentlewoman and me, bot as God and man bathe knew, honest and cheast;¹ yit sic as giff my God, and the cairfull and fatherlie admonitiones and conforts of my uncle, haid nocht supplied, it haid undone me. Manie sear² battels and greivus tentatiounes³ did my God uphald me in, and carie me throw; and at last put in my hart a purpose to seik and use that holie and lawfull remeid of mariage; and thairin, namlie to respect a helpe and confort for that calling wherunto I haid advowit my selff. Sa, be my hanting to the Generall Assemblies in Edinbruche, and takin with the godlie ordour and exerceise in the familie of Jhone Durie, and with that cairfull walkine with God I saw in him; as also with sum appeirance of God's fear and honestie I saw in the face and fasones⁴ of the bern, being bot about alleavin or twall yeirs of age, I resolvit with my God to settle my hart ther, tak hir for my love, and put all uther out of my hart: And this almost a four yeir befor our mariage.

M.D.LXXX.

The Generall Assemblie convenit at Dondie, July 1580, wharat Mr James Lawsons was Moderator: The King's Commissionars war ther. Ther *Episcopatus* was utterlie abolisched, and all bruik-and that office ordeanit to demit the sam, and with dew tryall to be receavit as pastors of particular congregationes *de novo*, and that under pean of excommunication; and the Provinciaill Synods immediatlie following to put the act in execution. *Item*, Anent the office of Reidars, that ther is nocht sic an office in the Kirk of God as of simple reiding; and, thairfor, all Reidars to be tryed within twa yeir, and giff they haiff nocht profited sa that they ar able to exhort with doctrine, to be deposit; and that nan sould be admitted, in tyme coming, to anie benefice that could do na mair bot reid. Also manie delationes was maid of Papists that haid flocked hame with and efter Monsieur d'Obignie, wha haid presence and credit at Court; wheranent the King's ministers, Mr Jhone Crage and Jhone Dunkanson, war admonised.

¹ Chaste.² Sore.³ Grievous trials.⁴ Manners.

At that Assemblie, Captan Robert Anstruther, father-brother to the present Lard of Anstruther, wha haid spendit his hailly lyff in the warres in France, and haid attained ther to honour and ritches, moved of conscience, cam hame to end his lyff in his awin countrey, in the Reformed Kirk thairin; and offerit him selff as a penitent to the said Assemblie, for being sa manie yeirs present at mess with his maister, the King of France, knawin the ydolatrie thair of, and professing the trew religion in his hart. The Assemblie remitted him to the Synod of Fyff and Presbyterie of St Androis, to be receaved in the favour of the Kirk, as he was the wintar thairefter; and within a yeir died happelie, full of dayes. He was a verie wyse and valiant man in armes, spendit all his time in the warres with grait honour, and yit haid the hape never to sched blud with his awin hand, nor to haiff his blud sched. He left to the pure of the congregation of Kilrinny, whare he was born, and whare he died, the soun of a thowsand marks.

That yeir was the King's first progress and promene athort¹ his countrey, with solemnities of entress in manie of his Hienes' brouches;² and amangs the rest of St Androis, whar we war for that present come from Dondie with the supplication and articles of the Assemblie, and keiping a dyet befor the Counsall about Alexander Cuninghame, in the mater mentioned befor. Whar, on a day, the gentilmen of the countrey about haid a gyse and farce to play befor the King: His Majestie was in the new Innes of the Abay, befor the windowes wharof the schow was to be maid. Grait confluence of peiple conveyned, and the place read with a fear circuit: It continowed void for the space of a lang houre, wither that his Majestie was nocht readie to behauld, or the players to present tham selves, I can nocht tell, bot, whill all ar gasing and langing for the play, in stappes Schipper Lindsay, a knawin frenetic man,³ and paesses⁴ upe and down in the circuit with a grait gravetie, his hands in his syde, looking verie big and hiche. The

¹ Athwart.² Burghs.³ A known madman.⁴ Paces, struts.

man was of a grait telyie,¹ weill bigged,² of a large face, and guid manlie countenance, all rouche with heire, his browes grait tuftes of heire, and als grait a tuft upon the yerie neb of his nease;³ his look was verie reasit and hiche: Wherat first the peiple maid a noyse with lauching; bot when he began to speak, he movit sic attention as it haid bein to a preatcher; and, indeid, for my part, I was mair movit with it then with monie preatchings. Ther he discoursit with grait force of sprit and mightie voice, crying upon all of all ranks and degries to heir him, and tak exemple be him, whow wicket and ryottous a man he haid bein; what he had done and conqueist be the sie, and whow he had spendit it, and abosit him self be land; and what maist justlie for that the grait God and Judge of the warld haid brought upon him. He haid wit, he haid ritches, he haid strenthe and abilitie of body; he haid fam and estimation passing all of his tread and rank; bot all was vanitie, that maid him misken his God, wha wald nocht be miskenned, namlie, be the hichest. And turning him self to the boss windo, whar, in the nedmaist, the Erle of Morton was standing gnapping on his staff-end, and the King and Monsieur d'Obignie above, he makes sic application to him in speciall as movit him throw the hart, and was marvellus in the eares of the heirars: For my self, I was estonished and movit to tears, heiring and seing the man. Amangs the rest, he warned him, nocht obscurlie, that his judgment was neir, and his dome was dichten. And, indeid, the verie sam tyme was the platt a dressin against the Erle of Morton, na wayes knawin nor suspected of anie [in comoun.⁴] Sa, that the platt leyers wald haiff suspected a discoverie, giff they haid nocht knawin the man to be lunatik and bereft of his wit. I market the Erle, standing just fornent him, mikle movit with this first interlude, as earnest and nocht play; sa, that during all the sportes that followed, he altered never the gravitie of his countenance.

In the monethe of October immediatlíe thairafter, the Generall

¹ Stature.

² Built.

³ Point of his nose.

⁴ Margin.

Assemblie conveyet at Edinbruche. Ther Bischopes callit upon ; all war fund absent. The actes maid against them ordeanit to be put in operation. Mr Andro Melvill, sear against his will, decernit and ordeanit to transport him self from Glasgw to St Androis, to begine the wark of Theologie ther, with sic as he thought meit to tak with him for that effect, conform to the leat reformation of that Universitie, and the New Collage thairof, giffen in be the Kirk and past in Parliament. Wharupon compulsators of horning past out against him, and Mr Thomas Smeton ordeanit to be placed in the Collage of Glasgw in his roun.

[About this tyme rested happelie in the Lord Mr Jhone Row, minister of St Jhonstoun, a wyse, grave father, and of guid literature, according to his tyme ; wha, be information of my uncle, Mr Andro, haid first, in a Generall Assemblie, be doctrine, clerit all the Heads of the Discipline, to the grait contentation of the hail Kirk ; and thairefter continowit a constant promoter thairof to his end.¹]

The vacans² befor, and all that yeir, I was resolved haillelie to haiff gean³ to France ; bot could na wayes obtain my uncle's guid will, nor yit the guid breithring's, whaes judgments I revered ; yit I haid almost prevealed till this transportation was concludit. And then, partlie moved with the lov and reverence of my uncle, whom I could nocht leave, so earnestlie desyring me to tak a part of that charge with him ; and partlie glad to be frie from the daylie labor of regenting in Philosophie, to ascend to the profession and daylie travell in Theologie, wherin I was blythe to spend my hail lyff, I cast away that purpose of France, and tuk me haillelie⁴ to tak part with my uncle, namlie, finding the approbation of all the guid breithring and calling of the Kirk to that purpose. Yit a benefit, quhilk I haid of that purpose, to pass in France, was the studie of the Frenche tounge, wharto I was mikle giffen that yeir, and wherin, to satisfie me, my uncle helped me graitlie, by conferring with me textes of Scripture ; also sum thing of the best au-

¹ Margin of MS.² Vacation.³ Gone.⁴ Wholly.

thors in the Frenche toung, as of Plutarche's Lyves and Heliodor's Ethiopic Historie, conferring the Greik with the Frenche; wherin I profited in bathe, namlie, in the right pronounciation of the Frenche langage, quhilk is hardest to attein unto. Be quhilk occasion I tuk mikle delyt, and reade manie things in the Frenche langage.

We tuk leive from Glasgw with infinit teares on bathe sydes, sa that sic as war our mislykers befor (wharof, except sum Boyds and that Alexander Cuninghame, ther was nan) wald haiff fean kythed frindschipe then; and leaving Mr Thomas Smeton in the Principall's, and my cusing, Mr Patrik Melvill, (sone to guid Roger, wha leatlie haid past his course in Philosophie ther,) in my roun, we cam to Edinbruche about the end of November, whare I fand my bern¹ growand in grace and favour with God and man, quhilk eased me sum what of the langour of our frinds at Glasgw.

But the grait feir and cear quhilk was in my hart of my inhabilitie to undertak and bear out sa grait a charge as to profess Theologie and holie touniges amangs ministers and maisters, namlie, in that maist frequent² Universitie of St Androis, amangs divers alterit and displacit, and thairfor malcontents and mislykers, occupied me sa, that I behovit to forget all, and rin to my God and my buik.

Mr James Lawsons, Jhone Dury, with the Lards of Bread and Faldownsyde, convoyit us to Londy, and so with the Lard thairrof, to St Androis, and enterit us in the Collage in the monethe of December 1580. Mr Andro, Principall Maister, Mr Jhone Robertsons, wha haid bein lang in that Collage befor, and haid studiet sum thing in Theologie, a guid weill-conditionet man, but of small literature and giftes, and me. Mr Andro maid his preface, and enterit to the comoun places: So did I, and enterit to the Hebrew Grammar. Mr Jhone did as he could in the New Testament; bot was supplid thairin be the Principall, wha remitted na thing of his wounted peanes.

At our first entrie, ther was a student chalmerit³ abon a lafted

¹ His future wife, the daughter of John Durie. See p. 80.
attended.

² Numerously
³ Who resided or lodged in a chamber.

leache seller,¹ in the quhilk sellar wrights war working, and it was full of dry timber and spealles,² grait and small. The student colling³ his candle in a morning, the coll falles throw the laft, and kendles the small speales lyand alangs a planing burde,⁴ and sa athort the house. He comes out greitting and crying; quhilk, my chamber being nixt, I heir, and coming down with speid, lookes in at a window, and sies all the house athort in fyre, and the key of the dure could nocht be gottin. Giff I haid a dammist sear hart, God knowes, luiking for na thing bot the burning of the hail place at our first entrie, to the grait discourage and greiff of all guid men, and the joy of the wicked, and sic as heated⁵ the wark. Wharfor, crying mightilie to God in my hart, I with the auld portar presses the breaking of the dur in vean; bot it pleased God mercifullie to luik on and pitie the mater, sending the wright boy with the key, onluikit for, and twa or thrie with water; wherby we quenched the fyre befor it tuk hald of the gests and lafting⁶ above; and, indeid, the houss being sa full of dry timber and spealles, it was a wounder to sie the fyre sa soone slokned;⁷ and that, quhilk I thought a speciall benefit, befor anie thing was hard thair of in the town, or noyse maid thair about: Bot it sank sa in my hart, that I could nocht forget nor conceill it, for danger of unthankfulnes to God, wha sa mercifullie keipit that wark from sklander and discouragment at the first entres thairto.

Ther was nan that welcomde us mair than Mr Patrik Adamsone, called Bischope, wha resorted to our lessones, and keiped verie familiar frindschipe with Mr Andro, promising what could ly in him for the weill of that wark. He haid takin him to the ministerie of St Androis, and teatched twyse in the ouk exceeding sweitlie and eloquentlie; but the Sabothes, at efter noone, vaked, because of Mr Robert Hamilton's seiklines, wha was ordinar minister. And

¹ A low cellar in the New College of St Andrews, having a "loft" for drying timber.

² Carpenters' chips and shavings of wood.

³ Snuffing.

⁴ A carpenter's planing-bench.

⁵ Hated.

⁶ Joists and lofting.

⁷ Quenched.

thairfor, at the desyre of sum of the eldars of the kirk send from the session, I occupied the pulpit on the Sabaths at efter noone; lyk as the Principall did oftentymes in the fornoone, in absence of the Bischope. Thus it pleased God, of unspeakable grace, to hald the mouthe quhilk he haid opened, sounding his treuthe and praise, quhilk was done with grait tentationes and mikle trembling and fear in the present tyme, bot now rememberit to the graittest joy of my hart. And thus we war occupied all the ouk in the schoolls, and in the Kirk on the Sabothe; quhilk was my onlie releiff against monie foolishe thoughts and languissing cears, and held me fast upon my God, with earnest wakryffnes,¹ to beg his grace.

Ther was twa things that daylie sterit me up to thankfulness towards God, and earnest endeavour in my calling. That an, when I lewked upon sic as haid bein maisters and regents when I was a schollar, now to be receavers of instruction out of my mouthe, saying oft with David, "Thou has maid me wysar nor my teachers." Another, I saw a condisciple of myne, mentioned befor, Mr David Elison be name, wha was the best schollar of his class all the tyme of our course, and going to France with the Clark Register sonnes, ther he falles in a phrenesie and daffing,² quhilk keipit him to his deathe; whom, when I beheld out of the pulpit in the scholles, and rememberit the mercifull working of my God with mie, my breist could nocht contain my breathe nor my eis teares. Then I had the honour, of Him to whome all honour aperteines, to be the teatcher of Mr Robert Rolloc, of most worthie memorie, the Hebrew tounge, wha resorted ordinarlie to my lessone and chalmer to that effect.

M.D.LXXXI.

The Generall Assemblie conveyned at Glasgw in Apryll, 1581, wherat, throw distance of place, and the new beginning of our wark in St Androis, Mr Andro thought lang nocht to be; bot at last, borrowing a guid horse from the Bischope, aff-hand takes jorney and

¹ Wakefulness, watchfulness.

² Lunacy and idiotcy.

keipes that Assemblie. Therin the office of Bischopes, as they war mentioned, judged damnable. The Act of Dondie cleirliar exponit, and ordeanit to be put in execution. The ordour of Presbyteries, in all Provinces, sett down; and Commissionars apointed for establishing of the sam. [The King's Confession, published for removing suspicion of Papistrie from the Court, sighted¹ and allowit. This Confession is maist notable; bot because it is publict and comoun in the housses and hands of all, I have omitted it.²] Bot, namlie, the Buik of the Polecie, efter almaist a ten yeirs labours, was throwlie, and in everie point, ratified, and ordeanit to be inregistrat in the buiks of the Assemblie, and copies thair of given furthe to all Provinces. The quhilk, because this declyning age is beginning to forget and slipe fra, I thought guid to insert in this place, wharof the tenor followes:—

THE HEADS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE POLECIE OF THE KIRK, M.D.LXXXI.

CAP. I.

*Of The Kirk and Polecie therof, in generall; and wherin it is different
from The Civill Polecie.*

I. CONCLUSION.

“PROPOSITION 1. The Kirk of God is, sum tymes, larglie tean³ for all them that professes the Evangell of Jesus Chryst; and sa it is a companie and fellowschipe, nocht onlie of the godlie, bot also of hypocrites professing alwayes, outwardlie, a trew relligion.

“2. Uther tymes, it is taken for the godlie and elect onlie; and sum tymes for them wha exerceises the spirituall functiones amangs the Congregation of them that professes the treuthe.

¹ Examined, inspected.

² This on margin of MS.

³ Taken.

"3. The Kirk, in the last sence, has a certean powar granted be God, according to the quhilk it uses a propre Jurisdiction and Government exercit to the comfort of the haill Kirk.

"4. This powar Ecclesiastical is a powar and authoritie granted be God the Father, throw the Mediator, Jesus Chryst, unto sic wha hes the speciall government of the Kirk committed to them, be lawfull calling, according to the Word of God.

"5. The Polecie of the Kirk, flowing from this powar, is an ordour or form of Spirituall Government, exercit be the members apointed thairto be the Word of God, giffen be Chryst unto his Office-bearers, to be usit for the weill of the haill bodie of his Kirk.

"6. This powar is diversalie usit ; for sum tymes it is severalie¹ exercit, (cheiffie be the teatchers,) sum tyme conjunctlie, be mutuall consent of them that bears the office and charge, efter the form of judgment : That an is comounlie callit *Potestas Ordinis* ; that uther, *Potestas Jurisdictionis*.

"7. These twa kynds of powar hes bathe a author and ground, and a finall cause, bot ar different in the form and maner of execution ; as is evident in the speaking of our Maister in the 16 and 18 of Mathew.

"8. This powar and Polecie Ecclesiasticall is different and distant in the awin nature fra that powar and Polecie quhilk is callet Civill, aperteinand to the Civill Government of the Comoun-weill ; albeit they be bathe of God, and tend to a² end, giff they be rightlie usit ; to wit, to advance the glore of God, and to haiff guid subjects.

"9. For this powar Ecclesiastical flowes immediatlie from God, throw the Mediator, Jesus Chryst, and is spirituell, nocht haiffing a temporall head on erthe, bot³ onlie Chryst, the spirituell King and Governour of his Kirk, now in glorie within the heavines, at the right hand of his Father.

"10. Therfor, this powar and Polecie of the Kirk sould lein upon the Word immediatlie, as the onlie ground thairof, and sould be takin from the pure fonteans of the Scripture ; heiring the voice of

¹ Separately.

² One.

³ Unless, except.

Chryst, the onlie King of his Kirk; and therfor sche sould be rewlit be his lawes alleanerlie.

"11. It is a tytyle falshe usurpit be Antichryst, to call him selff Head of the Kirk, and aught nocht to be attributit to angell or man, of what esteat soever he be, saving to Chryst Jesus, the onlie Head and Monarche of his Kirk.

"12. It is proper to kings, princes, and magistrates, to be callit Lords and Dominators ower thair subjects, whom they govern civile; bot it is proper to Chryst alean to be callit Lord and Maister in the spirituall government of the Kirk. Nor aught anie that bears office thairin to usurpe dominion, or be callit Lords within the Kirk, bot onlie ministers, disciples, and servants; for it is Chryst's propre office to command and reull his Kirk Universall, and everie particular Kirk, throw his Spreit and Word be the ministerie of men.

"13. Nochtwithstanding, as the ministers and uthers of the Ecclesiasticall esteat ar subject to the magistrat civile, sa aught the persone of the magistrat to the Kirk spiritualie, and in Ecclesiasticall government and discipline.

"14. The exercise of bathe thir Jurisdictiones can nocht stand in a persone ordinarlie.

"15. The civill powar is callit The Powar of the Sword; the uther is callit The Powar of the Keyes.

"16. The civill powar sould command the spirituall to exercise and do thair office according to the Word of God. The spirituall reulars sould require the Christian magistrat to minister justice and punishe vyce, and to meantein the libertie and quietnes of the Kirk within thair boundes.

"17. The magistrat commandit externall things for externall peace and quietnes amangs the subjects. The ministrie handlit onlie externall things for conscience cause.

"18. The magistrats handlit onlie externall things and actiones don befor men; bot the spirituall rewlars judge bathe inwart affectiones and externall actiones, in respect of conscience, be the Word of God.

"19. The civill magistrat craves and gettes obedience be the

sworde, and uther externall meanes ; bot the ministrie, be the spirituall sword and meanes.

"20. The magistrat nather aught to pretche the Word, minister the Sacraments, nor execut the Censours of the Kirk, nor yit prescrive anie form or reull whow it sould be done, bot command the minister to observe the reull commandit in the Word of God, and punishe the transgressours be civill meanes. The minister, on the uther part, exerces nocht the civill jurisdiction, but teatches the magistrat whow it sould be done according to the Word of God.

"21. The magistrat aught to assist, meantein, and fortifie the Jurisdiction of the Kirk. The minister sould assist thair prince in all things aggreiable unto the Word of God, provyding they neglect nocht thair awin charge, be involving them selves in civill effeares.

"22. Finalie, As ministers ar subject to the judgment and punishment of the magistrats in externall things, if they offend ; sa aught the magistrates to submit them selves to the discipline of the Kirk, if they transgress in maters of religion and conscience.

CAP. II.

Of the Parts of the Polecie of the Kirk, and Persons and Office-bearers, to whome the Administration therof is committed.

"1. As in the Civill Polecie, the wholl comoun-weill consistes in the governours or magistrats, and sic as ar governit or subjects ; sa, in the Polecie of the Kirk, sum ar apointed to be reulars, and the rest of the members thairof to be reuled and obey according to the Word of God and inspiration of his Spreit, alwayes under that an Head and Governour, Chryst Jesus.

"2. Again, the haill Polecie of the Kirk consistes in thir things :— In Doctrine, in Discipline, and in Distribution. With Doctrine annexit the administration of the Sacraments.

"3. And according to the partes of this division aryscthe a thriefauld sort of Officers in the Kirk ; to wit, of Ministers or Preach-

ours ; of Eldars or Governours ; and of Deacones or Distributars. And all these may be called be a generall word, Ministers of the Kirk.

“ 4. For albeit the Kirks of God be reuled and governed be Jesus Chryst, wha is the onlie King, Hie-priest, and Head thair of ; yit he uses the ministerie of men, as a maist necessarie midds¹ for his purpose.

“ 5. For sa he hes, from tyme to tyme, befor the Law, under the Law, and in the tyme of the Evangell, for our grait comfort, reased upe men indeued with the gifts of the Spreit, for the spirituall government of his Kirk, for the exerceising and bearing of his awin powar, throw the Spirit and Word, to the building of the sam.

“ 6. And to tak away all occasion of tyrannie, He will that they sould rewell, with mutuall consent of breithring and æqualitie, everie an according to thair functiones.

“ 7. In the New Testament and tyme of the Evangell, he hes usit the ministerie of the Apostles, Prophetes, Evangelists, Pastors, and Doctors, in administration of the Word ; the Eldarship for guid ordour and administration of discipline, and the Deaconschipe to have cure of the Kirk guidides.

“ 8. Sum of thir Ecclesiasticall functiones ar Ordinar, and sum Extraordinar or Temporall.

“ 9. The Office of Apostles, Evangelists, and Prophetes, ar nocht perpetuall ; bot, serving for the first planting of the Kirk, now haiff ceassit, except when it pleasethe God extraordinarlie to steire upe sum of tham for a tyme againe.

“ 10. Ther ar four Ordinar functiones, or Offices, in the Kirk of God : The Office of the Pastor, Minister, or Bischope ; the Office of Doctor ; of the Presbyter or Eldar ; and of the Deacon.

“ 11. Thir offices are ordinar, and aught to continow perpetuallie in the Kirk, as necessarie for the Government and Polecie of the sam ; and na ma² offices aught to be receavit or sufferit in the trew Kirk of God establissed according to his Word.

¹ Means, medium.

² No more.

"12. Therfor, all the ambitius tytilles inventit in the Kingdome of Antichryst, and in his usurped Hierarchie, quhilk ar nocht of thir sortes, togidder with the offices depending therupon, in a word, aught to be rejected.

CAP. III.

Whow The Persons that be in Ecclesiasticall Offices ar admitted to thair Functions.

"1. Vocation or Calling is comoun to all that sould bear Office within the Kirk, quhilk is a lawfull way, be the quhilk qualefiet persones ar permitted to anie Spirituall Office within the Kirk of God.

"2. Without this lawfull calling it was never leisome to anie persone to middle with anie function ecclesiasticall.

"3. Ther is twa sortes of calling ; ane Extraordinar, immediatlie be God, as wer the Prophets and Apostles ; quhilk, in Kirks establissed, and alreadie weill reformed, hes na place.

"4. That uther calling is Ordinar, quhilk, besyde the calling of God, and inwart testimonie of guid conscience, hes the lawfull approbation and outward judgment of men according to God's Word and ordour establissed in his Kirk.

"5. Nan aught to presume to enter in anie Ecclesiasticall Office without he haiff this guid testimonie of conscience befor God, wha onlie knawes the harts of men.

"6. This ordinar and outward calling hes twa partes : Election and Ordination.

"7. Election is the chusing out of a persone or persones maist habill¹ to that office that veakes,² be the judgment of the Elderschipe and consent of the Congregation wherunto the persone or persones ar to be apointed.

¹ Fit, proper. Lat. *habilis*.

² Becomes vacant.

"8. The Qualities in generall requisit in all them wha sould bear charge in the Kirk, consistes in soundnes of religion and godlines of lyff, according as they ar sufficientlie sett furthe in the Word.

"9. In this ordour of Election is to be eschewit, that na persone be intrusit in anie of the offices of the Kirk against the will of the Congregation over quhilk they ar to be apointed, or without the vot of the Elderschiipe.

"10. Nan aught to be intrudit or put in the places alreadie plant-ed, nor in anie roum that veakes, for anie warldlie respect. And that quhilk is called the Benefice, sould be nathing els bot the Stipend of the Minister wha is lawfullie called and elected.

"11. Ordination is the separation and sanctefeing of the persone elected to God and his Kirk, efter he be weill tryed and fund qualifiet.

"12. The Ceremonies of Ordination ar, Fasting, Prayer, and Im-position of the hands of the Elderschiipe.

"13. All thir, as they ar ordinat of God, and maid able be him for the wark wherunto they ar limited within God's word, sa aught they nocht to pas the bounds thair of.

"14. All these Office-bearers sould haiff ther awin particular flocks, whom amangs they exerceise thair charge; and sould mak residence with tham, and tak the inspection and oversight of tham, everie ane in his vocation. And, generalie, thir twa things aught they all to respect; the glorie of God, and edifeing of his Kirk, in discharging the dewties in ther calling.

CAP. IV.

Of The Office-bearers in particular; and, first, Of The Pastor or Minister.

"1. Pastors, or Bischops, or Ministers, ar they wha ar apointed to particular Congregationes and Kirks, quhilk they reull be the Word of God, and ower the quhilk they wache. In respect wharof, sum tymes they are called Pastors, for feiding of thair flocks; sum tym

ἐπισκοποι, or Bishops, because they watche over the Congregation ; sum tym Ministers, be reasone of thair service and office ; sum tyme also Presbyters, or Seniores, or Eldars, for thair age, gravitie, and maners, quhilk they aught to haiff, in taking care of the spirituall government that aught to be maist deir unto tham.

“ 2. They that ar called to the ministerie, or that offer tham selves thairunto, aught nocht to be elected without a certean flocke be assigned unto tham.

“ 3. No man aught to ingyre¹ him self, or usurpe this office, without a lawfull calling.

“ 4. They wha ar annes² callit be God, and dewlie elected be man, efter that they haiff annes accepted the charge of the ministerie, may nocht leave thair function.

“ 5. The desertours sould be admonished, and, in case of obstinacie, finalie excommunicat.

“ 6. Na Pastor may leave his flock without license of the Provinciall or Nationall Assemblie ; giff he do utherwayes, efter admonition nocht obeyit, let the censours of the Kirk strik upon him.

“ 7. Unto Pastors of the Kirk aperteines the teatching of the Word of God, in seaseone and out of seasonè, publictly and privatly ; alwayes teatching to edife and discharge of his conscience be God's Word prescryvit to him.

“ 8. Unto the Pastors onlie aperteines the Administration of the Sacraments, in lyk maner as of the Word ; for bathe ar appointed be God as meanes to teatche us, that an be the eir, that uther be the ci and uther senses ; that by baithe knowlage may be transferrit to the mynd.

“ 9. It aperteines, be the sam reason, to the Pastor to pray for the peiple ; and, namlie, for the flock committed to his charge, and to bliss tham in the nam of the Lord, wha will nocht suffer the blessing of his fathfull servands to be without effect.

“ 10. He aught to watche above the maners of his flock, that he may the better apply to tham, in rebuking dissolut persones, and

¹ To insinuate himself into the office by artful means.

² Once.

exhorting the godlie to continow in holines and the feir of the Lord.

"11. It apperteines to the Minister, efter lawfull proceeding be the Elderschipe, to pronounce the sentence of binding and lowsing upon anie persone, according to The Powar of the Keyes granted to the Kirk.

"12. It belanges to him, in lyk wayes, efter lawfull proceeding of the Elderschipe, to solemnize the band of Mariage, and bliss the persones joyned thairin.

"13. And generalie all denunciations that ar to be maid in the Kirk, befor the Congregation, concerning Ecclesiasticall effeares, belanges to the office of the ministerie; for he is the mouthe, messenger, and herauld of God, betwix him and his peiple, in all these effeares.

CAP. V.

Of Doctors and thair Office, and of The Scholles.

"1. Ane of the twa ordinar and perpetuall functiones that travelles in the Word, is the office of a Doctor, wha may also be called a Prophet, Bischope, Eldar, or Catechisar, that is, a teatcher of the Catechisme and Rudiments of Religion.

"2. His office is to opin up the mynd of the Spreit of God with-in the Scriptures, simplie without sic application as the Minister uses, to that end that the fathfull may be instructed in the right warrands of halsome doctrine; and that the puritie thair of may abyde in the Kirk, uncorrupted be ignorance and evill opinionies.

"3. He is different from the Pastor, nocht onlie in name bot in diversitie of giftes: For, to the Doctor is giffen the word of knowlage, to open up, be simple doctrine, the mysteries of fathe; to the Pastor the gift of wisdom, to apply the sam, be exhortation, to the maners of the flocks, as occasion servit.

"4. Under the name and office of a Doctor we comprehend the ordour of Scholes in Collages and Universities; quhilk hes bein

meanteined carfullie, alsweill amang the Jewes and Christianes as profane nationes.

" 5. The Doctor, being an Eldar, as said is, sould assist the Pastor in the government of the Kirk, and concure with the Eldars, his breithring, in all Assemblies; be reasone the interpretation of the Word, quhilk is onlie judge in Ecclesiasticall maters, is committed to his charge.

" 6. Bot to preatche unto the peiple, to minister the Sacraments, and to celebrat mariage, pertienes nocht to the Doctor, unles he be utherwayes callit ordinarlie; whowbeit, the Pastor may teatche in the Scholles as he wha hes the gift of knowlage, oftentimes meit thairfor, as the exemple of Policarpus and uthers does testifie.

CAP. VI.

Of The Eldars and thair Office.

" 1. The nam of Eldar, in the Scripture, is sumtyme the nam of age, and sumtyme of office.

" 2. When it is the nam of Office, sumtyme it is taken larglie; comprehending alsweill the Pastors and Doctors, as tham wha ar comounlie callit Seniors or Eldars.

" 3. In this our division, we call those Eldars whom the Apostle tytilles Presidents or Governours.

" 4. Thair office, as it is ordinar, sa it is perpetuall, and alwayes necessar in the Kirk of God.

" 5. The Eldarschipe is a spirituall function as the ministerie.

" 6. Eldars annes called to the office lawfullie, and haiffing the gifts of God meit to exerceise the sam, may nocht leave it againe.

" 7. Albeit sic a number of Eldars may be schosin in certean Congregationes, that an part of them may relieve an uther, for a reasonable space; as was amangs the Levites, under the law, in serving of the Temple.

" 8. The number of Eldars in everie Congregation can nocht be

limitat, bot suld be according to the bounds and necessitie of the peiple.

"9. It is nocht necessar that all the Eldars be also teatchars of the Word; albeit, cheifie, they aught to be sic, and sa worthie of double honnour.

"10. What maner of persones they aught to be, we referre it to the express Word, namlie, the Canons wrytten be the Apostles.

"11. Thair office is also, severalie as conjunctlie, to watche diligentlie upon the flock committed to thair charge, bathe publictlie and privatlie, that na corruption of religion or maners enter thairin.

"12. As the Pastors and Doctors sould be diligent in sawing the seid of the Word, sa sould the Eldars be cairfull in seiking the frutt of the sam amangs the peiple.

"13. It apertaines to thaim to assist the Pastors, in examination of them that comes to the Lord's Table, and in visiting of the seik.

"14. They sould be cairfull to cause the Actes of the Assemblie, alsweill particular as provinciall, or generall, to be put in execution.

"15. They sould be diligent in admonising all men of thair dewtie, according to the reull of the Evangell.

"16. Things that can nocht be corrected be privie admonition, they sould bring and delect to the Elderschipe.

"17. Thair principall office is to hauld Assemblies with the Pastors and Doctors, wha ar also of thair number, for establissing of guid ordour and execution of discipline. Unto the quhilk Assemblie all men ar subject that remeanes within thair bounds.

CAP. VII.

Of Eldarschips, Assemblies, and of Discipline.

"1. Elderschipes or Assemblies ar constitut of Pastors, Doctors, and Eldars, that labour nocht in the Word; of whom, and of whase severall powar, has bein spoken.

"2. Assemblies ar of four sortes; for ather ar they of particular

Kirks and Congregationnes, an or ma, ather of a Province, ather of a haill Nation, or of all and sindrie Nationes, professing Jesus Chryst.

"3. All Ecclesiasticall Assemblies hes powar to convey lawfullie togidder, for treating of things concerning the Kirk and thair charge.

"4. They haiff powar till apoint tymes and places to that effect, and a¹ Assemblie to appoint dyet, tyme, and place for an other.

"5. Inall Assemblies a Moderator sould be chosin, be comoun consent of the haill breithring convenit; wha sould pray, propone maters, put in reasoning, gather the vottes, and keipe the Assemblie in guid ordour.

"6. Tent² sould be tean³ be the Moderator, that onlie Ecclesiasticall maters be handlit in Assemblies; and na melling⁴ with anie thing pertaining to the Civill Jurisdiction.

"7. Everie Assemblie hes powar to send furthe from them a number, an or ma, Visitors to sie whow maters ar handlit in the bounds of thair Jurisdiction.

"8. Visitation of ma Kirks is na ordinar office Ecclesiasticall in the persone of a man; nather may the name of a Bischope be attributit to the visitour onlie; nather is it necessar to abyde alwayes in the persone of a man, bot it is the part of the Elderschipe to send out qualesiet persones to viseit.

"9. The finall end of all Assemblies is, first to keipe the Relligion and doctrin in puretie, without error and corruption; nixt, to keipe comlie and guid ordour in the Kirk.

"10. For this ordour's cause they may mak certean reulles and constitutions apertaining to the guid behaviour of all the members of the Kirk, in thair Visitation.

"11. They haiff powar also till⁵ abolishe and abrogat all statutes and ordinances concerning Ecclesiasticall maters that ar fund noysum or unprofitable, and aggrie nocht with the tyme, or abbused be the peiple.

"12. They haiff powar till execut Ecclesiasticall Discipline and

¹ One.

² Heed.

³ Taken.

⁴ Meddling, interfering.

⁵ To.

punishment upon all transgressours and proude contemnners of all guid ordour and Polecie of the Kirk : And sa the haille discipline is in thair hands.

" 13. The first kynd and sort of Assemblies, albeit they be within particular Congregationes, yit they exerceise the powar and Jurisdiction of the Kirk with mutuall consent, and thairfor bears the nam of the Kirk.

" 14. When we speak of particular Congregationes, we mein nocht that everie particular parochie-kirk can, or may, haiff thair awin particular Elderschipe specialie to landwart ; bot we think thre, four, ma or fewar, particular Kirks may haiff a comoun Elderschipe unto tham all to judge in Ecclesiasticall causes.

" 15. Albeit it is meit that sum of the Eldars be chosin out of everie particular Congregation, to concur with the rest of thair breithring in the comoun Arsemblie, and to tak upe the delationes of offences within ther awin Kirks, and bring tham thairto.

" 16. This we gather of the practise of The Primitive Kirk, whar Eldars, or Collages of Seniors, war constitut in cities and famous places.

" 17. The powar of the particular Elderschipe is to giff diligent laboures in the boundes committed to thair charge, that the Kirks be keipit in guid ordour, to inquyre diligentlie of naughtie and ungodlie persones, to travell to bring tham in the way againe, be admonition, thretning of God's judgments, or be correction of censours.

" 18. It apperteines to the Elderschipe to tak heid that the Word of God be purlie teatched within thair bounds, and Sacraments dewlie ministrat, the Discipline mentained, and the Ecclesiasticall guids uncorruptlie distribut.

" 19. It belanges to this kynd of Assemblies to cause the ordonances maid be the Provinciales, Nationall and Generall, to be keipit and put in execution.

" 20. To mak Constitutiones concerning το πριον in the Kirk, for decent ordour of the particular Kirks whar they govern, provyding they alter na rewles maid be the Provinciaill or Generall Assemblies. And that they mak the Provinciaill Assemblies reulles to sie as they

sall mak; and abolishe constitutiones tending to the hurt of the sam.

"21. It hes powar to Excommunicat the obstinat.

"22. The powar of Election of tham wha beares Ecclesiasticall charges, perteines to this kynd of Assemblie within thair awin bounda, being weill erected and constitut of Pastors and Doctors of sufficient abilitie.

"23. Be Elderschipe, or Presbyterie, is meined sic as ar constitut of Pastors, Doctors, and sic as ar now called Eldars.

"24. Be the lyk reasone, thair Deposition aperteines also to this kynd of Assemblie, as of tham that teatche erronius doctrin and corrupt; that be of sklanderus lyff, and efter admonition, amend nocht; that ar giffen to schisme or rebellion against the Kirk; to blasphemie manifest; to symonie, and all corruption of brybes, falshode, perjurie, hurdom, thift, drunkennes, flyting, feghting, worthie of punishment be the law; usurie, dansing, and sic dissolutiones and crymes that importes civill infamie; and all uthers that deserves separation fra the Kirk.

"25. These also, wha ar fund altogidder insufficient to execut thair charges, sould be deposit; wharof uther Kirks wald be advertised that they receave nocht the persones deposit.

"26. Albeit they aught nocht to be deposed, wha, throw age, seiknes, or uther accidents, becomes unmeit to do thair office; in the quhilk cais, thair honour sould remean unto tham, thair Kirks sould meantein tham, and uthers aught to be provydit to do thair office.

"27. Provinciall Assemblies we call lawfull Conventiones of the Pastors, Doctors, and Eldars of an Province, gathered for the comoun effeares of the Kirk thairof; quhilk also may be callit The Conference of Kirks and Breithring.

"28. Thir Assemblies ar constitut for weghtie maters, necessar to be intreated be mutuall consent and assent of Breithring within that province, as neid requyres.

"29. This Assemblie hes powar to handle, order, and redress all things committed or done amiss in the particular Assemblies or Presbyteries.

"30. It hes powar to depose the Office-bearers of that Province, for guid and just causses, deserving deprivation.

"31. And, generalie, thir Assemblies hes the haill powar of the particular Elderschippes wherof they ar collected.

"32. An Nationall Assemblie (quhilk is our Generall of this realm) is a lawfull Convention of the Kirks of that haill realme or nation, whar it is usit to be gadderit for the comoun effeares of the Kirk; and may be callit The Generall Elderschipe of The Haill Kirk within the Realme.

"33. Nan ar subject to repeare¹ to this Assemblie to vot² thairin, but Ecclesiasticall persones, in sic number as salbe thought guid be the sam Assemblie; nocht excluding uther persones that will repeare to the said Assemblie, and ther propone, heir, and reasone ordourlie.³

"34. This Assemblie is constitut, that things omitted or done amiss in the Provinciall Assemblies may be redressit; and things generalie serving for the weill of the haill body of the Kirk, in that realme, may be forsein, intreated, and sett furthe to God's glorie.

"35. It sall cair that Kirkes be planted in places whar they ar nocht.

"36. It sould prescryve the reull who the uther twa kynd of Assemblies sould proceed in all things.

"37. This Assemblie sould tak heid that the Spirituall Jurisdiction and Civill be nocht confoundit, to the hurt of the Kirk.

"38. That the Patrimonie of the Kirk be nocht diminischd nor abbusit.

"39. And, generalie, concerning all wegthie effeares quhilks concerns the weill and guid ordour of The Kirk Universall of this realm, it aught to interpon hir autoritie thairunto.

¹ Repair.

² Vote.

³ It is of course to be understood, that although this privilege was so liberally granted, yet such persons who were neither Members nor Commissioners had not the power of voting in the affairs brought under the consideration of the Assembly.

CAP. VIII.

Of The Deacones and thair Office ; the last Ordinar Function in the Kirk.

" 1. The word Deacon is sum tyme larglie takin ; comprehending all them that bear office in the ministrie and spirituall function of the Kirk.

" 2. Bot now, as we speik, it is tean¹ onlie for tham to whom the collection, and distribution, of the almes of the fathfull and of the Kirk guidis does belang.

" 3. The office of the Deacon, so takin, is an ordour and perpetuall Ecclesiasticall function in the Kirk of Chryst.

" 4. Of what properties and beauties he aught to be that is called to this function, we remit to the manifest Scripture.

" 5. The Deacon aught to be elected and called as the rest of the Spirituall Officiars, as was spoken of befor.

" 6. Thair Office and powar is to collect and distribut the hail Ecclesiasticall guidis unto tham to whom they ar apointed.

" 7. This they aught to do according to the judgment and apointment of the Presbyteries and Eldarschips, of the quhilks the Deacones ar nocht ; that the patrimonie of the Kirk and pure,² be nocht interverted³ to privat men's uses, nor wrangfullie distributed.

CAP. IX.

Of The Patrimonie of The Kirk, and Distribution thair of.

" 1. Be The Patrimonie of the Kirk, we mein whatsumever thing has bein at anie tyme befor, or salbe in tyme coming, doted⁴ and given, or be consent and universall custom of countreyes professing

¹ Taken, understood.

² Poor.

³ Perverted, misapplied.

⁴ Endowed,

gifted by legal deed or latter-will, &c. Lat. *dotare*.

Christian religion, apointed to the publick use and utilitie of the Kirk.

"2. Sa that under this Patrimonie we comprehend, first, all things gevin, or to be gevin, to the Kirk and service of God ; as lands, bigings, possessiones, annualrents, and all sic lyk wherwith the Kirk is dotted, ather be donation, fundation, or mortification, or anie uther lawfull tytles, be kings, princes, or anie inferiour persones, given to God and his Kirk, with the continuall oblationes of the fathfull.

"3. We comprehend also all sic things, as be Lawes, Custome, or use of Countreyes, hes bein applyed to the use and utilitie of the Kirk ; of the quhilk sort ar the Teinds, small and grait, Mansees, Gleibs, and sic lyk ; quhilk, by comoun and municipall lawes and universall custome, ar possessed be the Kirk.

"4. To tak away onie thing of this Patrimonie be unlawfull meanes, and convert it to the particular and profean use of anie man, we hald it a detestable sacrilege befor God.

"5. The guidis Ecclesiasticall aught to be collected and distribut be the Deacones, as the Word of God apoints ; that they wha bears office in the Kirk may be provydit for, without cear and sollicitude.

"6. In the Apostolicall Kirk, the Deacones war apointed to distribut whatsoever was collected of the fathfull to the necessitie of the saints, sa that nan lakit amangs them.

"7. These Deacones was nocht onlie collectors of that quhilk was gathered in maner of Almes, (as sum suppose,) bot of uthers guidis movable and unmovable, of lands and possessiones, the pryce wherof was brought and leyit at the feit of the Apostles.

"8. This office continowed in the Deacones' hands, wha intro-meated with the haill guidis of the Kirk, ay whill the esteat thair of was corrupted be that Antichryst, as the ancient Canones does witness.

"9. The sam Canones makes mention of a four-fauld distribution of the Patrimonie of the Kirk ; wharof a part was apointed for the Pastors or Bischopes, for thair sustentation and hospitalitie ; the second to the Eldars and Deacones, and all the Clargie ; the thride

to the Pure,¹ Seik persones, and Strangers ; the fourt for the Fabric and uphould of the Kirks, and uther effeares, namlie, extraordinar.

"10. We add heir unto the Scholles and Scholmaisters, quhilk may be weill susteined of the sam guida, and ar comprehendit under the Clargie ; to whom we joyne the Clerks of the Assemblies, alsweill Particular as Generall, Syndics or Procurators of the Kirk's effeares, Takers upe of the Psalme,² with sic lyk uther Ordinar Offices of the Kirk, sa far as they ar necessar.

CAP. X.

Of The Office of a Christian Magistrat.

"1. Albeit all the members of the Kirk be haldin, everie an in thair vocation, to advance the Kingdome of Jesus Chryst, sa far as lyes in thair powar ; yit, cheiffie and namlie, Christian Princes, Kings, and Magistrates, ar haldin to do the sam.

"2. For they ar callit in the Scriptures, Nurishars of the Kirk, forsamikle as be tham, (at least aught to be,) meantened, fosterit, uphouldin, and defendit against all that wald procure the hurt of the sam.

"3. Sa it aperteines to the office of a Christian Magistrat till assist and fortifie the godlie proceedings of the Kirk in all behalfs ; and, namlie, to sie that the publick esteat and ministerie thair of be meantened and susteined as aperteines, conform to the Word of God.

"4. To sie that the Kirk of God be nocht invadit nor hurt be false teachers, or hyrlings, nor the roumes thair of occupied be dum dogges and ydle-bellies.

"5. To assist and meantein the Discipline of the Kirk, and punishe tham civillie that will nocht obey the censures of the sam ; without confounding, alwayes, the an Jurisdiction with the uther.

"6. To sie that sufficient provision be maid for the Ministerie, Scholles, and Pure ; and giff they haiff nocht sufficient for avating³

¹ Poor.

² Now termed Precentors.

³ Awaiting.

on thair charges to support thair indigences, even with thair awin rentes, giff neid sa requyre.

"7. To hauld hand to them alsweill concerning thair awin persones, saveing tham from opin injurie and violence, as concerning thair rentes and possessiones, that they be nocht defraudit, rubbet,¹ nor spoiled thairof.

"8. Nocht to suffer the Patrimonie of the Kirk to be applyed to profean and unlawfull usses, or to be devorit be ydle-bellies, and sic as haiff na lawfull function in the Kirk, to the hurt of the Ministerie, Scholles, and Pure,² and uther godlie usses, wherupon the saming aught to be bestowit.

"9. To mak Lawes and Constitutiones aggreiable to God's Word, for the advansment of the Kirk, and Polecie of the sam; without usurping upon anie thing nocht pertaining to The Civill Sword, but belonging to the offices that ar mere Ecclesiasticall, as is the Ministerie of the Word and Sacraments, using of Ecclesiasticall Discipline and spirituall execution thairof, or anie part of the powar of The Spirituall Keyes, quhilk our Maister gaiff to his Apostles and thair trew successours.

"10. And altho Kings and Princes, that be godlie, sum tymes be thair awin authoritie, (when the Kirk is corrupted, and all things out of ordour,) place Ministers and restore the trew service of the Lord, efter exemple of sum godlie Kings in Juda, (the quhilk they did be direction of Prophets,) and divers godlie Kings and Emperours, in the light of the Gospell; yit whar the Ministerie of the Kirk is annes³ lawfullie institut, and they that ar placed in offices lawfullie callit, then all godlie Princes and Magistrates aught to heir and obey thair voice, and reverence the Majestie of the Sone of God, be them speakand.

¹ Robbed.² Poor.³ Once.

CAP. XI.

Of The present Abbuses remeaning in The Kirk, quhilk we desyre to be Reformed.

"1. It is the dewtie of the godlie Magistrat to meantein the present libertie, quhilk God, of his mercie, hes granted to the Pretching of the Word, and the right Administration of the Sacraments within this realm; sa it is to provyd that all Abbuses, quhilk as yit remeanes within the Kirk, be removit and utterly takin away.

"2. Therfor, first, the Admission of men to Papisticall Benefices, sic as serves nocht, nor hes na function in the Reformed Kirk of Chryst, as Abates, Comendators, Pryores, Pryoresses, and uther tytles of Abbayes, whase places ar now, for the maist part, be the judgment of God, demolished and purgit of Idolatrie, is plean abbusion, and is nocht to receave the Kingdome of God in Chryst amangs us, bot rather to refuse it.

"3. Sic lyk they that war called of auld the Chaptours and Convents of Abbayes, Cathedrall Kirks, and lyk places, serve for na thing now, but to sett Fewes and Takes¹ (if anie thing be left) of the Kirk-lands and teindes, in hurt and prejudice thair of, as daylie experience teatches; and thairfor aught to be alluterlie² alterit and abolished.

"4. Of the lyk nature ar the Deacones, Archdeacones, Chantors, Thesaurars, Chancellours, and uthers haiffand the lyk tytles flowand from the Pape and Canon Law onlie, quhilk hes na place in a Reformed Kirk.

"5. Mikle les is it lawfull that persones, amangs thir men, haiff fyfteen, saxteen, twentie, or ma Kirks, all haiffing charge of saulles, and bruk the patrimonie thair of, ather be admission of the Prince, or of the Kirk, in this light of the Evangell; for it is bot mocage³ to crave reformation whar sic lyk hes place.

¹ Tacks, leases.² Entirely, altogether.³ Mockery.

" 6. And albeit it was thought guid for avoiding of graitter inconvenients, that auld possessours of sic benefices wha embrassit The Religion, sould enjoy, be permission, the twa part of the rentes quhilk they possessit of befor, during thair lyff tyme; yit it is nocht tolerable to continow in the lyk abuse, and giff thair places and uther benefices of new to als unmeit men, or rather unmeittar, wha ar nocht myndit to serve in the Kirk, bot le've an ydle lyff, as the uthers did wha bruiked them in tym of blindnes.

" 7. And in sa far as in the ordour tean at Leithe, anno 1571, it appeirs that sic may be admitted, being fund qualefiet, &c., ather that pretendit ordour is against all guid ordour, or els it man be understud nocht of tham that be qualefied to worldlie effeares to serve in the Court, bot sic as ar qualefiet to teatche God's Word, haiffing the lawfull Admission of the Kirk.

" 8. As to the Bischope, if the nam επισκοπος be properlie takin, they ar all an with Ministers, as we befor declarit; for it is nocht a name of Superioritie and Lordschipe, bot of Office and Watching.

" 9. Yit because in the corruption of the Kirk this nam, as uthers, hes bein abbusit, and yit is lyk to be, we can nocht allow this fashon of chusing of Bischopes, nather of the Chaptours that ar electores of tham, to sic a sort of office as they ar chosine.

" 10. The trew Bischopes sould addict tham selves to a particular flok, quhilk sindrie of tham refuses; nather sould they usurpe lordschipe ower thair breithring and inheritance of Chryste, as these men do.

" 11. Pastors, in sa far as they ar Pastors, hes nocht the office of Visitation of ma Kirks joyned to the Pastorschipe, without it be giffen to tham.

" 12. It is a corruption that Bischopes sould haiff fordar boundes to visit nor they may, possiblie, or lawfullie.

" 13. Na man aught to haiff the office of Visitation, bot he that is lawfullie chosine by the Presbyterie thairunto.

" 14. The Elderschipe, being weill establissed, hes powar to send out Visitors, an or ma, with commission to visit the bounds within

thair Elderschipe ; and sic lyk, efter compt tean¹ of tham, ather to continow or remove them, as the Presbyterie thinks meit, to the quhilk they salbe alwayes subject.

“15. The Temporall Jurisdiction, joynit in the person of a Pastor, is corruption.

“16. It agreis nocht with the Worl of God, that a Bischope sould be a Pastor of Pastores of manie flockes, and yit without a flock certean, and without ordinar teatching.

“17. It agreis nocht with the Scriptures, that they sould be ex-
eimed² fra correction of thair Breither, and Discipline of the particular Elderschipe of the Kirk whar they sould serve ; nather that they sould usurpe office of Visitation of uther Kirks, nor anie uther function besyde uther Ministers, bot sa far as beis committed to tham be the Kirk.

“18. Heirfor, we desyre the Bischopes that now ar, ather to aggrie to that ordour that God's Word requyres of tham, and as the Generall Kirk will prescryve unto tham, nocht passing the bounds, nather in Ecclesiastical nor Civill effeares, or els to be deposit from anie function of the Kirk.

“19. We deny nocht, in the meantyme, bot Ministers sould assist thair Prince, when they ar requyrit, in all things aggreiable to the Word and thair calling, whither it be at Counsall, Parliament, or utherwayes ; provyding, that they nather neglect thair awin charges, nor, be flaterie of Princes, hurt the publict esteat of the Kirk.

“20. Bot, generalie we say, na persone, under whatsoever tytyle of the Kirk, and specialie the abusit tytilles of Papistrie, as Prelattes, Convents, and Chapters, aught till³ attempt anie act in the Kirk's name, ather in Counsall, Parliament, or without, haiffand na Commission of The Reformed Kirk within this realme.

“21. And be Act of Parliament, it is provydit, that the Papistical Kirk and Jurisdiction sould haiff na place within the sam ; and na Bischope, nor uther Prelat, in tyme coming, sould use anie Jurisdiction flowing fra that authoritie.

¹ Taken.² Excepted, exempted. Lat. *eximere*.³ To.

"22. And again, that na uther Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction could be acknowlagit within this realm, bot that quhilk is and salbe within The Reformed Kirk, and flowing thairfra.

"23. Sa we esteim holding of Chaptours, in Papistical maner, ather in Cathedrall Kirks, Collages, or uther Conventuall places, usurping the nam and authoritie of the Kirk, to hurt the patrimonie thair of, or use onie uther act to the prejudice of the sam, sen the yeir of our Lord 1560, to be abbusion and corruption, contrair the libertie of the Kirk Reformed of Jesus Chryst, and lawes of this realme; and thairfor aught to be annullit and reducit, and in tymes coming all-uterlie¹ dischargit.

"24. The dependances also of this Papistical Jurisdiction ar to be abolished, of the quhilk sort ar the mingled Jurisdiction of the Commissars, in sa far as they mell² with Ecclesiasticall maters, and haiff na commission of the Kirk thairto; but war erected in the tyme of our Sovereine Lord's mother, when things war out of order. It is an absurd thing, that sindrie of tham, haiffing na function of the Kirk, sould be Judges to Ministers, and depose tham from thair roumes.³ Therfor, they wald ather be dischargit from Ecclesiasticall maters, and anie melling thairwith, or it wald be limitat to tham in what maters they might be Judges, and nocht hurt the libertie of the Kirk.

"25. They, also, that war befor the Ecclesiasticall esteat in the Pape's Kirk, or that ar admitted of new to Papisticall tytles, and now ar toleratit be the Lawes of this Realme, to place the twa part of thair Ecclesiasticall rents, aught nocht to haiff anie fordar libertie bot to intromet with the portion assignet and granted to tham for thair lyff tyme; and nocht, under the abbusit tytles quhilk they hade, dispone the Kirk rents, sett takes and fewes thair of at thair pleasour, to the wrak of the Kirk, and of the pure laborars that dwell upon the Kirk-lands, contrair to all guid conscience and ordour.

¹ Wholly, altogether.

² Meddle, interfere with.

³ Places, situations.

CAP. XII.

Certean Speciall Heids of Reformation craved.

"1. Whatsoever hes bein spoken of the Offices of the Kirk, the severall powar of the Office-bearers, thair conjunct powar also ; and last, of the patrimonie of the Kirk, we understand it to be the right reformation that God craves at our hands, that the Kirk be ordourit thairto, as with that ordour quhilk is maist aggreiable unto the Word of God.

"2. Bot because sum things wilbe twitched, in particular, anent the esteat of the countrey, and that quhilk we seik principalie to be reformed in the sam, we haiff collected tham in thir heids following :—

"3. First, seeing the haille countrey is devydit in Provinces, and thir Provinces again ar devydit in Paroches,¹ alsweill to bruche as land,² and in everie parochine a reasonable Congregation, ther wald be placed an or ma³ Pastors to feid the floks, and na Pastor or Minister to be burdeanit with particular charge of ma flocks or Kirks then an alleanerlie.

"4. And because it wilbe thought hard to find out Pastors to all the Paroche-kirks of the realme, alsweill to landwart as in townes, we think, be the advyse of sic as commission may be giften to be the Kirk, and the Prince, Paroches in landwart or small villages may be joyned twa or thrie, or ma in sum places togidder, and the principall and maist commodius Kirks to stand and be repearit sufficientlie, and qualefiet Ministers placed thairat; and the uther Kirks nocht fund necessarie sufferit to decay, thair kirk-years alwayes being keipit for buriall-places; and in sum places, whar neid requyres, ane parochine, whar the Congregation is ower grait, may be devydit in twa or ma.

"5. Doctors wald be apointed in Universities, Collages, and uther

¹ Parishes.² As well burgh as landwart.³ One or more.

places neidful, and sufficientlie provydit for, to open upe the meining of the Scriptures, and to haiff the charge of saulles, and to teatche the rudiments of religion.

"6. As to the Eldars, ther wald be sum to be censors of the maners, ane or ma, in everie Congregation ; but nocht an Assemblie of Eldars in everie particular Kirk, but in towns onlie and famous places, whar resort of men of judgment and abilitie, to that effect may be haid ; whar the Eldars of particular Kirks about may convey togidder, and haiff comoun Eldarschipe and Assemblie place amangs them, to treat of all things that concernes the congregations ower whom they haiff the oversight.

"7. And as ther aught to be men appointed to unit and devyde the paroches as necessitie and commoditie requyres, sa wald ther be appointed be The Generall Kirk, with the assent of the Prince, sic men as feires God, and knew the esteat of countries, that war able to denominat and assinge¹ the places whar the Assemblies of particular Elderschips sould conveyin, taking consideration of the Dioceses as they war devydit of auld, and of the esteat of the countries and Provinces of the realme.

"8. Lykwayes, as concerning Provinciall or Synodall Assemblies, consideration war alsua to be haid, whow manie and in what places they war to be hauldin, and whow often they sould conveyin, aught to be reservit to the libertie of The Generall Kirk, and ordour to be appointed thairin.

"9. The Nationall Assemblies of this countrey, callit comounly the Generall Assemblies, aught alwayes to be retined in thair awin libertie, and haiff thair awin place ; with powar to the Kirk to appoint tyme and places convenient thairfor. And all men, alsweill magistrats as inferiours, to be subject to the judgment of the sam, in Ecclesiasticall causses, without anie reclamation or appellation² to anie Judge, Civill or Ecclesiasticall, within this realme.

"10. The libertie of Election of Ecclesiasticall persones callit to bear function in the Kirk, observit without interrupted continow-

¹ Assign.

² Without reclaiming or right of appeal to another tribunal.

ance unto the corruption of Antichryst, we desyre to be restored and reteined within this realm ; sa that nan be intrusit¹ upon anie Congregation, ather be Prince or anie inferiour persone, without lawfull Election and consent of the peiple ower whome the persone is to be placed ; as the practise of the Apostolicall Primitive Kirk, and all guid reasone and ordour, craves.

“ 11. And because this Ordour, quhilk God's Word and all guid reasone craves, can nocht stand with Patronages and Presentationes to Benefices, usit in the Pape's Kirk, we desyre all sic as trewlie feires God earnestlie to consider, That forsamikle as the names of Patronages and Benefices, togidder with the effect thairof, flowed from the Pape and closit of the Canon Law, wharby unneit and corrupt persones ar intrusit and placed in Kirks haiffand *curam animarum* ; and forsamikle as that maner of proceeding hes na ground in the Word of God, bot repugnes flatlie to the saming,² owerthrawing the ordour and libertie of Election, they aught nocht to haiff place in the light of Reformation ; and, thairfor, whasoever will trewlie embrace God's Word, and desyre the Kingdome of his Sone, Jesus Chryst, to be advanced, they will also embrace and receive the Polecie and ordour quhilk the will of God and upright esteat of his Kirk craves : Utherwayes, it is in vean that they haiff professed the Gospell.

“ 12. Nochtwithstanding, as concerning uther Benefices and Patronages thairof, that hes nocht *curam animarum*, sic as ar these Altarages, Prebends foundit on temporall lands, Annuels, and sic lyk, may be reservit to the ancient Patrones to dispone thairupon, when they veak,³ to Schollars and Bursares, as they ar requyred be Act of Parliament.

“ 13. As to the Kirk-rents in generall, we desyre that ordour to be admitted and meanteined amangs us that may stand with the sinceritie of God's Word, and practise of the Kirk of Chryst.

“ 14. To wit, that was befor spokin, the haill Rent and Patrimonie of the Kirk, (excepting small Patronages befor mentioned,)

¹ Intruded.² Is flatly repugnant to the same.³ Fall vacant. Lat. *vacare*.

may be devydit in four portiones : Ane thairof to be assigned to the Pastor, for his interteinment and hospitalitie : Ane uther to the Eldars, Deacones, and uther Officiars of the Kirk, sic as Clarks of Assemblies, Takers upe of the Psalmes, Beddels, and Kirk-maisters and keipars, sa far as they ar necessar ; joyning in speciall maner the Doctores and Scholles, that thair ancient foundationes may be helped whar neid requyres : The thrid portion to be bestowit upon the Pure members of the fathfull, and Hospitalls : The fourt and last, for Reparation of the Kirks, and uther extraordinar charges as ar profitable for the Kirk, as also for the comoun weill, as grait need sall requyre.

“ 15. We desyre, thairfor, the Ecclesiasticall guidis to be uplifted and distributed fathfullie to whom they apertein, and that be the ministerie of the Deacones, to the quhilk office properlie the collection and distribution thairof belanges ; that the Pure may be answerit of thair portion thairof, and they of the Ministerie left without care and sollicitude ; as also the rest of the treassours of the Kirk may be reservit and bestowit on the right uses.

“ 16. Giff these Deacones be elected with sic qualeties as God's Word craves to be in tham, ther is na feir that they sall abbuse tham selves in thair office, as the profean Collectors did of befor ; yit because that this vocation appeires to manie to be dangerus, let tham be oblist, as they war of auld, to a yeirlic compt to the Pastors and Eldarschipe ; and iff the Kirk and Prince think expedient, let cautioners be oblist for thair fidelitie, that the Kirk-rents na way be delapidat.

“ 17. And to the effect this ordour may tak place, it is to be prevydit that all uther intromeittours with the Kirk-rents, Collector generall or speciall, whither it be be apointment of the Prince or utherwayes, may be dischargit of fordar intromission thairwith ; and suffer the Kirk-rents, in tyme coming, to be haillelie intrometit with be the ministerie of the Deacons, and distributit to the usses befor mentioned. And also to the effect, that the Ecclesiasticall rents may suffice to those usses for the quhilk they ar apointed, we think it necessar to be desyrit that alienationnes, setting of fewes

or taks of the rents of the Kirk, alsweill landes as teindes, to the hurt and diminution of the auld rentalles, be reducit and annullit, and the Patrimonie of the Kirk restorit to the auld integritie. In lyk maner, that the Teinds, in tyme coming, be sett to nane bot to the laborars of the ground, or els nocht sett at all, as it was aggreit upon and subscrivit be the Nobilitie, in the First Buik of Discipline, anno 1560.

CAP. XIII.

The Utilitie that sall follow, of this Reformation, to all Esteattes.

"1. Seing the end of this Spirituall Government and Polecie, wharof we speik, is that God may be glorified, the Kingdome of Chryst Jesus advancit, and all they that ar of his mysticall body may live peaceblie in conscience: Therfor, we dar bauldlie affirm, that all sic wha hes trew respect to these ends will, evin for conscience' cause, glaidlie agrie and conform them selves to this ordour; and advance the sam sa mikle as lyes in them; that, thair conscience being sett at rest, they may be replinshed with spirituall gladnes, in dewtifull obedience to that quhilk God's Word and the testimonie of thair awin conscience does crave, and refusing all corruption contrare unto the sam.

"2. Nixt, we sall becom an exemple and patron ¹ of guid and godlie order to uther Nationnes, Countries, and Kirks professing the sam Religion with us; that as they haiff glorified God in continowing in the sinceritie of the Word hitherto, without all errours, praise be to that grait Keippar! so they may haiff the lyk occasion, in our conversation, when, as we conform our selves to that Discipline, Polecie, and guid Order, quhilk the sam Word and puritie of Reformation craves at our hands. Utherwayes, that feirfull sentence salbe justlie said and sein: "The servand that knaws the wil of his Maister and does it nocht, salbe beatin with manie whips."²

¹ Pattern.

² Shall be beaten with many stripes or strokes.

"3. Mairower, giff we haiff anie pitie or respect to the Pure¹ members of Chryst, wha sa graitlie increas and multiplie amangs us, we will nocht suffer tham to be lang defraudit of that part of the Patrimonie of the Kirk quhilk justlie belangs unto tham. And be this order, giff it be dewlie put in execution, the burding of tham salbe takin af us, to our grait comfort; the streites salbe cleingit² from the crying and murmuring of them; as we salbe na mair a sklander to uther nationes as we hithertiles³ haiff been, for nocht takin ordour with our Pure, and causing of the Word quhilk we profes to be evill spokin off, giffing occasion of sklander to the enemies, and offending the conscience of the simple and godlie.

"4. Besyd this, it salbe a grait ease and commoditie to the comoun peiple, in releiving of thair burdings, and uphauling thair Kirks for thair instruction and saulles' helthe, and residence of God amangs tham; as also for the saiftie of thair bodies, in biging and haulding upe of briggs⁴ and uther publict warks, for the comlines and polecie of the countrey; also ane ease to the laborars of the ground, in payment of thair teinds, and all uther things wherinto they haiff bein hithertils riguruslie handlit be these fals callit Kirk-men, thair taksmen, sutters, and extortioners.

"5. Finalie, to the King's Majestie and hail Comoun-weill, this profit sall redounde, that the curse of sacrilage, (quhilk wounderfullie eates upe and consumes all that auld luk and welthe in the patrimonie of his croun and rents, guid and gear of all his leiges,) being removit, the Lord sall bliss all, in sic sort as thair salbe na want, bot plentie and store of all guid things. The Lord wil open the heavines, the erthe and sie sall giff thair incres, and all salbe satisfeit with abundance. And when the ordinar necessarie effares of the Kirk, Scholles, and Pure, ar satisfeit, the superplus being collectit and put in the threasors of the Kirk, may be profitablie employed and liberalie bestowit upon the extraordinary support of the effares of the Prince and Comoun-weill, and specialie of that part of the Kirk-rents quhilk is apointed for the Reparation of the Kirks and fabric thairrof.

¹ Poor.² Cleansed.³ Hitherto.⁴ Bridges.

"6. Sa we conclud, all being willing to apply tham selves to this Order, the peiple suffering tham selves to be rewlit thairby, the Prince and Magistrats tham selves nocht being exeimit;¹ and they wha ar placed in Ecclesiasticall estate, rightlie rewling and governing, God salbe glorifiet, the Kirk ædified, the bounds thair of inlargit, Chryst Jesus and his Kingdom sett upe, Sathan and his subvertit, and God sall dwell in the middes of us, to furnise all guid and keipe from all evill, in his Sone, the Lord Jesus; wha, with thair Eternall Sprit, abyds holie and blessed for ever. AMEN."

ENDS THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE POLECIE.

In the yeir 1580, in the wintar, brak out a notable effect of Monsieur d'Obignie's course and coming in Scotland. For the King, sitting at Counsall a day with his nobles, amangs the quhilk the Erle of Mortoun last Regent was, in comes Captean James Stewart, a brother of the house of Ochilttrie, advancit in creadit of Court be D'Obignie, and maid Captean of the King's Gard, quhilk of new was then tean upe,² and fallin down on his knies, accused the Erle of Mortone of hie treasone: Wharupon the said Erle was incontinent committed to warde in the Castle of Edinbruche; the Erle of Angus, his cusing, chargit to ward benorth the Tay, with certean cheiff men of that nam. And thairefter Mortoun was transported from Edinbruche to Dumbartane, whar he remeaned till the monethe of May. In the mean tyme, his landes and gear war disponit to Monsieur Obignie, maid and called, then, Duc of Lennox; sa of a noble and ritche prince as ever governde in Scotland, he becam a pure prisoner, wha skarslie haid to furnise his necessitie. In the monethe of May he was brought till Edinbruche, and keipe in Robin Gurlayes house, with a band of men of wear; and the verie

¹ Exempted, excepted. Lat. *eximere*.

² Taken up, established.

dayes of his puting to assyse and execution, I hapned to be ther in Edinbruche, and hard and saw the notablest exemple, bathe of God's judgment and mercie, that to my knowlage ever fell out in my tyme. For in that Tolbuthe, whar oftentimes, during his government, he haid wrysted and throwin¹ judgment, partlie for gean,² wharto he was gein,³ and partlie for particular favour, was his judgment overthrowin; and he, wha above anie Scotsman haid maist gear, frindschipe, and clientell,⁴ haid nan to speak a word for him that day, bot the graittest part of his assysars being his knawin unfreinds,⁵ he was condemned to be headit on a sklaffauld; and that head, quhilk was sa wittie in warldlie effeares and polecie, and haid comandit with sic autoritie and dignitie within that town and judgment-seat, to be sett upe on a prik⁶ upon the hichest stane of the geavell⁷ of the Tolbuthe, that is towards the publict streit. The quhilk sentence, in my sight, was put in execution upon the morne.

But, in grait mercie, when the Lord haid stryped him naked and bear of all these things warldlie, and of a cable maid a twynde thrice — to go in at the narow ei of that neidle, he gaiff him, efter unfeinyit repentance, sic fathe and assurance of his favour in Chryst, that he maist magnanimuslie contemned insulting of enemies, bewaling of frinds, all warldlie dignitie, ritches and pleasures, and tuk him with his Chryst, be deathe, to owercom and gett the croun of lyff. The Ministers war at him that night of his condemnation, and the morn befor he was brought out; whom he satisfeit verie weill, be justefeing God, his Word and ministerie thairof, and acknowleging his sinnes; bot na art nor part of the King's father's murdour wherfor he was condemnit. Jhone Durie and Mr Jhone Davidsons, whom he haid hardlie usit, the an for his pretching, the uther for his buik against the four kirks, cam to him, of whom he cravit pardone; and wha taried with him, and was maist movit for his ceas.⁸ He keipit the sam countenance, gestour, and schort sententius form of langage upon the skaffalde, quhilk he usit in his princlie government. He

¹ Wrested and twisted, or perverted. ² Gain. ³ Given. ⁴ Clients, followers.

⁵ His known or avowed enemies. ⁶ Spike, spear's-point. ⁷ Gable. ⁸ Case, condition.

spak, led about and urgit be the commanders at the four newkes¹ of the skaffald; bot efter that ance he haid verie fectfullie² and gravelie uttered, at guid lainthe, that quhilk he haid to speak, thair-
 efter almaist he altered nocht thir words: "It is for my sinnes that God has justlie brought me to this place; for gif I haid servit my God als trewlie as I did my King, I haid nocht com heir! Bot as for that I am condem'd for be men, I am innocent, as God knaws. Pray for me." All men and peiple of all rankes bewalit his deathe exceidinglie, except onlie they wha haid particular hatred against him; for Papistrie durst nocht be hard of in his dayes of government, and the land injoyed never graitter peace and plentie. I could wreit mikle mair of my heiring, seing, and knowlage, anent this mater and the things that followed, giff my purpose war to wrait the storie of civill effeares in our tyme; but that nocht being, I content to haiff recordit the wark of God, quhilk I saw with my eis, and hard with my eares; for the quhilk I could nocht bot at my returning to St Androis glorifie God, be rehersall thair of in opin audience from pulpit.

That yeir, 1581, the Generall Assemblie convenit, in October, at Edinbruche; in the quhilk, certean breither war apointed to consult whow the Parliament sould nocht inleak³ the Spirituall Esteat, Bischopes being removit. To the quhilk deliberation the Assemblie was dryven unto be Curt; the grait gydar wharof, the Duc of Lennox, by Guisian counsall and direction, nocht daring put at relligion pleanlie, pressit the restoring of the esteat of Bischopes, and haid latlie intrusit Mr Robert Montgumerie in the Bischoprik of Glasgw, without all ordour of the Kirk, *pleno jure principis*, (quhilk vexit the Breithring of Glasgw wounderfullie, sa that I wat nocht whow manie score of dyettes they war compellit to keipe in that earend.) The Breithring apointed be the Assemblie returnes thair advyse in that mater; the quhilk being considerit be the Assemblie, all in a voice determines, That concerning vot in Parlia-

¹ Corners, angles.² Powerfully.³ Want, be deficient in.

ment, and using of Civill and Criminall Jurisdiction, Commissioners sould be directed from tyme to tyme from the Generall Assemblies to the Parliaments, to discharge the Kirkes dewtie, and do for the sam in all hir effeares. And the heritable Bailies of Regalities sould use all things pertaining to the jurisdiction of civill and criminall causses.

The Ministers of Edinbruche all this whyll was maist fathfullie and wacryflie¹ giffing the warning to all, anent the cours and practise of Papiests; and, thairfor, at this Assemblie, Mr Walter Balcanquall was accuisit be the Court, *sed frustra*.

At that tyme it was a pitie to sie sa weill a brought upe Prince till his bernhead² was past, to be sa miserablie corrupted in the entress of his springall³ age, bathe with sinistrus and fals information of all proceedings in his minoritie, and with evill and maist dangerus grundes and principalles in government of Kirk and Comoun-weill. Then was he maid to think warst of the best men that ever servit in this Kirk and Countrey; to think the haill maner of Reformation of Religion to haiff bein done be a privie faction, turbulentlie and treasonablie; to suspect the noble men and haill ministerie that stude for the cause of Religion and his croun against his mother's faction; yea, to tak course against them, and put at tham as his unfrinds.⁴ Amangs the rest, Captan James⁵ put the opinio of absolut powar in his Majestie's head; whom, in sa doing, I can compear to nane sa weill as to Philomelus, the Captean of the Phocenses, wha being about a maist sacrilegius purpose to owerthrow and spulye the Kirk of Delphus, and cut out of the pillars thair of the decreits of the Amphictions, whase sacrat judgment governed the comoun-weill of all Greice, and sa to subvert bathe religion and polecie, he compellit the Pythian preist to go upe on the Tripas, to giff him a response. The woman, urgit violentlie, sayes, "Yow may do what yow will." The quhilk wourds Philomelus gripped at, and taried na langer for the oracle, but gaiff

¹ Wakefully, watchfully.² Infancy, childhood.³ Stripling.⁴ Enemies.⁵ Stewart.

out amangs his armie, and to all, that he haid gottin a plean licence of Apollo to do what he wald.¹ Sic lyk Mr Patrik Adamson, Bischope of St Androis, a grait counsellour in these dayes, amangs manie uther evill grounds wharof we will heir heirefter, inculcat this: "That a Christian King sould be the cheif governour of the Kirk, and behovit to have Bischops under him, to hald all in order, conform to antiquite and maist flurissing esteat of the Christian Kirk under the best Emperour, Constantine. And that the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland could nocht stand with a frie kingdome and monarchie, sic as was his Majestie's in Scotland," &c. Mutche lyk Bischope Caiphas, wha thought that Chryst's kingdome and the Roman impyre could nocht stand togidder: Or Herod, wha heiring that Chryst the King was borne, was troublit, and all Jerusalem with him, and thairfor send, &c.

But nochtwithstanding of this constitution of Court, by a remarkable providence of God cam furthe the Cornicle of Mr Georg Buchanan, printed with privilege, and the Buik of the Polecie of the Kirk concludit in Assemblie.

That September, in tyme of vacans, my uncle, Mr Andro, Mr Thomas Buchanan, and I, heiring that Mr George Buchanan was weak, and his Historie under the press, past ower to Edinbruche annes earend,² to visit him and sie the wark. When we cam to his chalmer, we fand him sitting in his chaire, teatching his young man that servit him in his chalmer to spell a, b, ab; e, b, eb, &c. Efter salutation, Mr Andro sayes, "I sie, Sir, yie are nocht ydle." "Better this," quoth he, "nor stelling sheipe, or sitting ydle, quhilk is als ill!" Thairefter he schew³ us the Epistle Dedicatorie to the King; the quhilk, when Mr Andro haid read, he tauld him that it was obscure in sum places, and wanted certean words to perfyte the sen-

¹ "Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. Hist. lib. 16. Lyk as Stratocles, in Athens, maid a decree of Demetrius, *παν ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημητριὸς κεγεννηται τῷ το καὶ πρὸς θεοῦς ὁσίον καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δίκαιον*.—Whatsumever King Demetrius commandath, that to be holie toward God and just toward men. Plut in vita Demetrii." Inserted by the Author on margin of MS. ² For the express purpose. ³ Showed.

tence. Sayes he, "I may do na mair, for thinking on another mater." "What is that?" sayes Mr Andro. "To die!" quoth he; "bot I leave that and manie ma things for yow to helpe."¹

We went from him to the printar's wark-hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 Buik of his Cornicle, at a place quhilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steying² the haill wark, anent the buriall of Davie.³ Thairfor, steying the printer from proceeding, we cam to Mr George again, and fund him bedfast by⁴ his custome; and asking him, whow he did? "Even going the way of weifare," sayes he. Mr Thomas, his cusing, schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his Storie, that the King wald be offendit with it, and it might stey all the wark. "Tell me, man," sayes he, "giff I have tauld the treuthe?" "Yis," sayes Mr Thomas, "Sir, I think sa." "I will byd his fead,⁵ and all his kin's, then?" quod he: "Pray, pray to God for me, and let Him direct all!" Sa, be⁶ the printing of his Cornicle was endit, that maist lerned, wyse, and godlie man, endit this mortall lyff.

Efter that Generall Assemblie, in October, Mr Patrik Adamsone aggreit to all the poincts of the Buik of Polecie, and concerning the office of a Bischope; and calling to dinner Mr Andro Melvill, my uncle, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, and uthers divers, he subscrivit thairto; quhilk his subscription is yit in my uncle's custodie. *Item*, that wintar he past ower to a Convention of the Esteates; and efter he fand nocht Curt⁷ as he luiked for, he drest him⁸ to the Ministers of Edinburche, schawing tham whow that he cam ower to Court with Balam's hart, of purpose to curse the Kirk and do evill; bot God haid wrought sa with him, that he haid turned his hart to the contrare, and maid him, bathe in reasoning and votting, to stand for the Kirk, promising to schaw fordar and fordar fruicts of his conversion and guid meining. Wharat Jhone Dury was sa rejoysit, that he treated him in hous, and wrot ower at lainthe to me in his

¹ "He was telling him also of Blakwod's answer to his buik, *De Jure Regni*."—
Margin of MS. ² Stopping. ³ David Riccio. ⁴ Contrary to. ⁵ Feud,
enmity. ⁶ By the time that. ⁷ Favour at Court. ⁸ Addressed himself.

favour. Wherupon I past down to his Castell at his ham-coming, and schew him what information concerning him I haid gottin from the breithring of Edinbruche; thanking God thairfor, and offering him, in cais of continuance, the right hand of societie. Wherat rejoising, he tauld me the mater at lainthe, and, namlie, concerning the grait motiones and working of the Spreit. "Weill," said I, "that Spreit is an upright, halie, and constant Sprit, and will mair and mair kythe¹ in effects; bot it is a fearfull thing to lie against him!"

But to return to Mr Andro Melvin. The light of his lerning, and hatt² of his zeall to haiff reformation in the kirk and scholles of St Androis, brack nocht soonner out, when the darknes of ignorance and cauldnes of Christian profession uttered them selves in his contrare. Manie and grait adversares he haid; but the Lord, wha haid sancteifeit him for his wark, gaiff him notable victories ower all. First, the Maisters wha war displacit out of the New Collage, as Mr Robert Hamilton, minister of the town, commandit be the Generall Kirk to leave the office of principalitie in the Collage, and tak him to his ministerie, vexit him with persut of compts of the Collage; but he rejected that upon the Commissionars wha haid the powar of the Reformation, whom, be moyen and importunitie, the said Mr Robert maid to relent, and direct him again upon Mr Andro, to his great vexation, till it pleasit God to cutt schort the lyff of the said Mr Robert, even when he was about to intend action against Mr Andro. Yet that cause ceassit nocht, bot was followit out in the personnes of his weidow and bernes, be a man of grait wit, peanes, and moyen,³ an of Mr Androe's awin companiones, whase comfort he haid fund in Glasgw, and now luiked for, coming to St Androis, to sic a guid wark. This was Mr Thomas Buchanan, first scholmaister in Stirling, and syne Provost of Kirkheuche in St Androis, and minister of Syres; a man of notable gifts of lerning, naturall wit, and uprightnes in the cause of the Kirk against the Bischopes, bot haid his awin

¹ Manifest itself.² Heat, zeal.³ Influence.

imperfectiones, namlie, of extream partialitie in the cause of his frinds and dependars, quhilk maid him to alter with Mr Andro; and in that cause of Mr Robert Hamilton's, [whase relict he married,] and his collegges, to often greive Mr Andro: Bot, in end, a glib of the Collage gear settlet that, allowit be the saids Commissioners, Mr Andro bearing with it, because he could nocht mend it. Ane uther, that haid bein Regent in that Collage under Mr Robert Hamilton, was Mr Jhone Caldcleuche, a daft wousten¹ man. He bosted² that he wald houche³ Mr Andro, with mikle mair daft talk; and a day he comes in to Mr Androe's chalmer, being alan in it, and askes him, weill rudlie, giff he knew him? "Na," sayes Mr Andro, "I knaw you nocht." "I sould be knawen," sayes he, "as a Maister in this Collage; my nam is Mr Jhone Caldcleuche." "Ho!" quoth Mr Andro, "Is this yie that will houche men?" And with that put to the chalmer dure, and sayes, "It is even best tym now!" Bot the uther calmit atteanes,⁴ and beginnes to speak with mair reverence; whom Mr Andro, by manlie courage and force of reasone, sa dantoned and tamed, that the Maister was fean to tak a bursare's place in the Collage, and live thairin as a humble student. I was in the chalmer abon and hard all, and cam down at last to the ending of it.

Thir fascheries⁵ war skarse weill sattelit, when out braks a grait-ter contradiction. This was of the Regents of Philosophie, namlie in St Leonard's Collage, wha heiring, in Mr Androe's ordinar publict lessones of Theologie, thair Aristotle, amangs the rest of the philosophers, the patriarches of heresie, as ane of the ancients termes tham, mightelie confuted, handling the heids anent God, Providence, Creation, &c., maid a strange steir⁶ in the Universitie, and cryed, "Grait Diana of the Ephesians," thair bread-winner, thair honour, thair estimation, all was gean,⁷ giff Aristotle sould be sa owirharled⁸ in the heiring of thair schollars; and sa dressit publict orationes against Mr Androe's doctrine. But Mr Andro insisted

¹ *Woustour* or *woistare*? A silly, boasting fellow.² Threatened. ³ Literally*ham-string.*⁴ At once, immediately.⁵ Troubles, annoyances. O. Fr.*fascheries.*⁶ Stir, excitement.⁷ Gone.⁸ Overturned, upset.

mightelie against tham in his ordinar lessones ; and when thair counned¹ haranges cam at thair Vikes and promotiones of Maisters, helut² tham nocht slipe, but af-hand answerit to tham presentlie with sic force of treuthe, evidence of reasone, and spirituall eloquence, that he dashit tham, and in end convicted tham sa in conscience, that the cheiff Coryphoes amangs tham becam grait students of Theologie, and speciall professed frinds of Mr Andro, and ar now verie honest upright pastors in the Kirk ; whom, for honour, I nam ; in speciall, Mr Jhone Malcolm, minister at Jhonse Town, and Mr Andro Duncan at Carell. And certeanlie the treuthe was, that ignorance, with a proude opinion of knowlage, because they knew na better, wrought all this. For efter the first zeall of Reformation, in Mr Knox and Mr Guidman's dayes, the cauldnes of Mr Robert Hamiltone's ministerie, and ignorance and negligence of tham that sould haiff teatched Theologie, maid, that Regents and schollars carit na thing for Divinitie ; yea, it was evin a pitie to sie that ignorance and profannes that was amangs tham. And as for Langes, Arts, and Philosophie, they haid na thing for all, bot a few buikes of Aristotle, quhilk they lernit pertinatuslie to bable and flyt³ upon, without right understanding or use thairof. Bot within a yeir or twa, Mr Andro, be his delling in publick and privat with everie an of tham, prevalit sa, that they fell to the Langes, studeit thair Artes for the right use, and perusit Aristotle in his awin langage ; sa that, *certatim et serio*, they becam bathe philosophers and theologes, and acknowlagit a wounderfull transportation out of darknes unto light. Bot, indeid, this was nocht done without mikle feghting and fascherie,⁴ and the autoritie of the Generall Assemblie interponit, in end.

The thrid thortar⁵ and debat quhilk he haid was with the provist, bailyies, and counsall of the town, about thair ministerie. The Session of the Kirk haid a custome to send twa of thair elders everie ouk⁶ to desyre Mr Andro and me to helpe tham on

¹ Carefully conned or prepared.

² Let.

³ To babble and wrangle about.

⁴ Fighting, or contention and trouble.

⁵ Opposition, literally thwarting.

⁶ Week.

the Sabbath, during the want of a minister and absence of the Bishope. Sa Mr Andro, coming in the pulpit, spak the treuthe of all thingis with grait ardentness and zeall; and being acquent with sum corrupt proceedings of the rewlars against equitie and justice, and perceaving they lyked nocht of guid men to be thair minister, sic as Mr Andro wald haiff haid, bathe for the weill of the Town and Universitie, namlie, of that wark of Theologie, sic as Mr Thomas Smeton or Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, he causit tham heir thair doings in the deaffest eare! This was takine sa hiche, that a grait space ther was na thing bot affixing of plackarts upon the Collage yett,¹ bosting with batoning,² burning and chassing out of the town; wherwith, to speak the treuthe, I was mikle fearit, seing Town, University, and all malcontents against us attannes; and luikit for na thing, day for day, but steiring upe of sum tumult for ane evill turn. But Mr Andro, with ane heroicall spreit, the mair they stirit and bostit, the mair he strak with that twa-eagit³ sword; sa that a⁴ day he movit the Provest, with sear rubbing of the ga⁵ of his conscience, to ryse out of his seatt in the middes of the sermont, and with sum muttering of words to goe to the dure, outthrow the middes of the peiple: For the quhilk, being delt with be the Presbyterie, and convicted in his conscience, the said Provest maid publict satisfaction be acknowlaging of his offence, and craving God and the congregation forgiffnes. Another day he tuk a placcard, affixed upon the Collage yet,⁶ knawin, be the Italian and French tounge, to be wrytin be James Lermont, appeirand⁷ of Balcomie; and in the application of his doctrine, quhilk was wounnderfull persing⁸ and vehement, he produces the wryt, and haiffing the said James sittand befor him in the Kirk, he thretnes him in particular with a judgment, that manie years efter was marked to strik upon the said James, to this effect: "Thow Frencheist, Italianist, jolie gentleman, wha has defyled the bed of sa manie married, and now boests⁹ with thy bastonados to defyll this Kirk, and put hands

¹ Gate.² Threatening to cudgel.³ Two-edged.⁴ One.⁵ Gall.⁶ Gate.⁷ Younger, or heir-apparent.⁸ Piercing.⁹ Threatens.

in his servants, thow sall never enjoy the fruicts of mariage, be haiffing lawfull succession of thy bodie; and God sall bastone thie in his righteous judgments!" This was rememberit when the said James, being Lard of Balcomie, leived manie yeirs in mariage without chyld, and taken be the Heiland-men coming out of the Leaws,¹ was siccerlie bastoned,² and sa hardlie used, that soone thairefter he died in Orkney, in the yeir 1598.

The fourt fecht that he haid was against the Pryor and his gentlemen-pensionars, wha colluded with the rewallars of the town to hald the ministerie vacand; and in the mean tyme tuk upe the stipend, and spendit the sam, with the rest of the kirk-rents of the Pryorie, at the goff, archerie, guid cheir, &c. Thir things, be Mr Andro and I, war rounden³ out of pulpit to tham: quhillk for to stay, they preparit a purs with a number of fourtie shilling pices in it, and sending for me to the Chalmerling's hous, efter guid interteinment, they offerit it to me for my peanes takin, in pretching and suppleing the default of a Minister. I answerit, It was trew my peanes haid deservit that and mair at thair hands; whowbeit I haid recompence, in all aboundance, at the hand of God, in honoring me with the message of his Word and service. Bot my peanes was nocht takin for the hinderance of that ministerie, bot for forderance of the saming; and I fearit, giff thay gatt a fason of a ministerie sa easelie provydit, they wald be lang of bringing in an of the notable men nominat to that ministerie, under whase feit I wald be glad to sit, with my pen, and with whom I wald be blaithe⁴ to helpe, as I could, for nought: And sa refusit thair money. This, when the Presbyterie understud, be⁵ Mr Andro and me, and espying that our helping on the Sabathes hinderit the placing of a man of giftes in that ministerie, (for they haiffing George Blak to minister the sacraments and marie, and us to teatche, wald content thairwith and seik na mair,) thairfor the Presbyterie dischargit us from pretching anie mair, and ordeanit me to pen a letter, to be red the nixt

¹ The Island of Lewis.
insinuated.

² Smartly or severely cudgelled.
⁴ Blythe, glad.

³ Whispered,
⁵ By, through.

Sabbathe, schawing the reasones of our leaving af pretching. Quhilk being done, and publickly read, certean of the rewlars of the town, namlie, Mr David Russell and Wilyeam Lermont, ragit thairat, and pennit against the nixt day an answer, in effect and termes unreverent; denying the authoritie of the Presbyterie, calling it pretendit, and inveying against the sam: For the quhilk cause, the persone that red it, Ringand¹ Rewll, taker upe of the Psalmes,² being callit befor the Presbyterie, schew that Mr David Russell and Wilyeam Lermont commandit him to reid it; bot, pure man, he gat his reward, for he never threave nor did guid efter that, bot died with madnes and miserie. The saids Mr David and Wilyeam being callit, the Pryor and Provest compeires with tham, thinking to bang out the mater; bot God assistes Mr Andro sa, that he dasht tham all, and maid them fean to go packing. The Generall Assemblie nocht being far to, the Presbyterie remittes the mater thairto, and summoned the said Mr David and Wilyeam to compeir befor the Assemblie, quhilk they did with thair assistars; bot they war condemnit be the Assemblie, and ordeanit to mak publict repentance in the Kirk of St Androis, and Mr Andro to receave the saming; the quhilk they did solemnlie, and sa becam better-conditioned thairefter.³

By this occasion I man mark be the way, it was a comfortable thing in these dayes to haiff a guid cause in hand, and stand be it; for whowsoever it was resisted and crossed in particular Sessiones, Presbyteries, or Assemblies, yit sure it was to be redressed and brought to a guid point at the Generall Assemblies, because of the freedom, grait authoritie, and uprightness in zeall that was thairin, to the grait terrour of the wicked, and confort of the godlie: Sa mikle the mair is the loss thairof to be deplored in this declyning age and tyme!

The fyft and graittest enemie of all was the Bischope, Mr Patrik Adamsone, craftelie and quietlie concurringwith the Court;

¹ Ringan, i.e. Ninian.

² Precentor.

³ "Mr David Russell, for falshod, was efter, in the yeir . . . deposit from his office of Commissar Clarkschipe, with a not of infamie; and Jhone Arnot placed in his roum." Margin of MS.

bot alwayes, as yit, under profession of grait frindschipe, and sa maist dangeruslie seikand his distruction, with the utter overthrow of the libertie of Chryst's Kirk and kingdome. [Bot the Lord notable upheld and preservit his awin servant, and brought his enemies to confusion ;] as in the haille narrative and storie following will be manifest.

M.D.LXXXII.

The Generall Assemblie convenit at St Androis the 24th of Apryll, anno 1582 ; Mr Andro Melvin schosin Moderator. To it was Mr Robert Mongomerie, intrusit Bischope of Glasgw, summoned ; wha compeired, with letters of horning to discharge the Assemblie, yit he durst nocht use tham, sic was the frequencie of barrones and breithring, with sa grait authoritie and zeall. And sa, for acception of the Bischoprik *pleno jure*, and troubling of the breithring of Glasgw, he was deposit *in perpetuum*, and thretnit with excommunication, till he humblie presentit him selff with teares befor the Assemblie ; and then Jhone Dury, wha was maist seveire against him, rease out of his seat, and caught him in his armes.¹ But at that sam tyme Mr Wilyeam Clark, my predecessour, a wyse, godlie, sweit man, said unto me, " It will never be this man that will trouble and hurt the Kirk ; bot yie will find that Mr Patrik Adamsone will do it, wha is this man's counsallar, and causes him now to yield for the tyme." At that Assemblie was apointed a generall Fast, to be keipit in the monethe [of] Junie following ; the causes wharof was conspiracie of Papists, oppression and thraldom of the Kirk, &c.

In the monethe of Junie that sam yeir, an uther Generall Assemblie was conveyit in Edinbruche, wherat Jhone Dury, for his plean

¹ " Yit the sam Mongumerie insisted and troublet the Breithring of Glasgw thairafter, and thairfor was excommunicat ; and the excommunication annullit be ane act of Counsall, and letters published thairupon, receavit thairafter, in Court, and interteined in the King's presence be the Duc ; and the sam sentence thairafter, in the Parliament 1584, be an act thairof, annullit." Note by Author on margin of MS.

speitches against the Duc, and proceidings of the Court, was accusit; bot hoping for na speid thair, he was callit befor the King and Counsall, at Dalkeithe; whar narowlie eschaping the Duc his cookes (wha cam out of his kitching with speittes and grait knyves) with his lyff, as he often tauld me, he was, be act of Counsall, banished out of Edinbruche; bot the Generall Assemblie commandit the Presbyterie of Edinbruche to keipe his roum frie,¹ and place nan thairin. In this Assemblie, manie Greiffes and Articles war pennit, and commissionars apointed to present tham at the Convention of the Esteats, to be haldin at Perth in the monethe of July nixt following.

The Convention keiping at Perth, Mr Andro Melvin, Moderator, with the rest of the Commissionars, went thither with the Greiffes and Articles of the Kirk, wha gat verie evill countenance, and manie secret terrors.

[GREIFFES OF THE KIRK, GIFFEN IN AT PERTH.]

“Unto your Majestie maist humblie meines² and schawes your Grace's maist fathfull and obedient subjects, the hail Ministers of God's Word within this your Grace's realme, convenit in the Generall Assemblie, haldin at Edinbruche the 27th of Junij: That whar upon the occation of diverse grait and evident dangers appeiring to the hail Kirk of God, and professours of his treuthe in this countrey, finding the authoritie of the Kirk abrogat, Ecclesiasticall censures contemnnt, and violence usit against sum of our breithring unpunished; wharof the lyk hes never bein sein within this realme, nor in anie uther whar trew relligioun hes bein pretchit and resseavit: And fearing lest your Majestie, for leak³ of information, might neglect in tyme to provyd remedie for the inconvenients lyklye to ensew thairupon, we convenit our selves, in the fear

¹ To keep his living, place, or pulpit, vacant.

² Complains.

³ Lack.

of God, and your Hienes obedience, and efter diligent consideration of the present estate, be comoun consent thought necessar, be our Commissionars, to open upe and present to your Grace certean of our cheiff and weghtie Greiffes, without hastie redress wharof the Kirk of God and his trew religion can na wayes stand¹ and continow in this your Majestie's countrey.

"First, That your Majestie, be devyse of sum counsallours, is causit to tak upon your Grace that spirituall powar and authoritie quhilk properlie apertienes to Chryst, as onlie King and Head of his Kirk; the ministerie and executioun wharof is giffen to sic only as beares office in the Ecclesiasticall government of the saming; as that, in your Grace's persone, sum men presses to erect an new Papdom, as thought your Majestie could nocht be full Head and King of this comoun-welthe, unles also weill the spirituall as temporall sword be put into your Grace's hands, unles Chryst be bereft of his authoritie, and the Jurisdictiones confoundit quhilk God hes devydit; quhilk directlie tendes to the wrak of all trew religioun, as be the speciall Heades following is manifest: For benefices ar giffen be absolut powar to unworthie persones, intrusit in the office of the ministerie without the Kirk's admissioun, directlie against the lawes of God and actis of Parliament; wharthrow the Kirk's leivings comes in profean men's hands, and siclyk as sell their saulles, and mak schipwrak of conscience, for pleasur of men, and obteaning sum warldlie commoditie.

"1. Eldarschips, Synodall and Generall Assemblies, ar dischargit, be letters of horning, to proceid against manifest offendars, and to use discipline of the Kirk, and censures thair of, according to God's Word.

"2. Jhone Durie, be act of Counsall, is suspendit from pretching, and banished from his flock.

"3. Excommunicat persones, in contempt of God and his Kirk, ar interteined in cheiff Lords' housses; and namlie, Mr Robert Mongummerie authorised and causit to pretche, and brought in your Majestie's house and presence, quhilk is a sear² wound to the con-

¹ Subaist.

² Sore.

science of tham that loves your Majestie, and knawes your Grace's upbringing, and a heavie sklander to all nationnes professing the trew relligioun.

"4. An act of delyverance of Counsall is maid against the proceedings of the ministerie, withe a sklanderus narrative suspending simplie, and disanulling, the excommunicatioun justlie and ordourlie pronuncit against Mr Robert Montgoumerie, an rebell and obstinat offender and troublar of the Kirk of God, and open proclamation maid according thairto.

"5. Contempt of Ministers, and dinging¹ of manie doing thair offices, and especialie the violent drawing of Mr Jhone Howysone out of the Judgment-seatt, whar he was placed Moderator of the Presbyterie of Glasgw, his crewall and uttragijs handling and caring to preasone, lyk a theiff, be the Provest and Bailies of Glasgw, and thair complices : And, efter complement maid, na ordour takin with the doars thairof, but contrairwayes interteining tham as gif the saming haid bein guid service.

"6. and 7. The Minister of Glasgw was, be force of armes, displaced out of his roum,² quhilk, without reprotche, he hes occupied thir monie yeirs ; the gentle men of the countrey being convocat for that effect. Also violence was uisit, be an of your awin Gward, to pull him out of the pulpit the day of Communioun, in presence of the haill congregatioun, in tym of sermont ; and na fault fund thairwith.

"8. The Officiar of the Kirk was cassin in preasone,³ your Grace being present, and thair keipit a lang tym, for executung of Letters directed against a sklanderus man.

"9. The Ministers, Maisters of Schoolles, and Collage of Glasgw, the verie schollars thairof, in tym of publict fast, war, be letters of horning, compellit to leave thair flockes and scholles destitut ; and sensyne,⁴ from tyme to tym, and place to place, have bein continowit and deleyit ; thairby to consum tham be exorbitant expences, and to wrak the kirks and schoolles whair of they have the charge.

¹ Striking, beating.

² Place, situation.

³ Cast into prison.

⁴ Since then.

"10. The Students of the Collage war invadit, and ther bluid crewalie sched, be the Bailie and commonitie, gatherit thairto be sound of comoun bell, and stroak of drum; and be certean seditius persones inflambet¹ to have slean tham all, and brunt the Collage: And yit na thing don to the authores of the tumult and seditioun.

"11. Hands schakin with the bludie murderers and persecutors of the peiple of God, be letters and propynes² ressavit and sent.

"12. The Duc oftymes promisit to reform his hous, and na thing don thairin.

"13. The Lawes maid for mentenance of the trew relligioun, and punisment of the enemies thairof, ar nocht put to executioun; sa that all things gaes louse,³ and warse lyk till ensew.⁴

"Monie uther things ther be that crave present reformatioun, wherwith we think nocht expedient to trouble your Majestie, untill we sie what ordour beis takin with these greivus⁵ compleants. Besaikand⁶ your Majestie maist humblie, for the love of God, wha hes placed and establissed your Majestie in this royall throne, hitherto wounderfullie mentened and defendit, cearfullie to luik upon thir maters as becomes the lieutenant of God, and thankfull Christian King; and withe the advyse of tham that feir God, and tenders your Grace's estate, and weill and quietnes of this comounwelthe, sa to redres the premisses, that first Chryst, above all, may be acknowlagit; his messingers, without feir or stope, to execut thair office; the cours of the Gospell advancit; and sic exemple maid of punisment of tham wha sa licentiouslie and contemptuallie have wrangit and injurit the Ministers and professours of God's Word, that uthers heireftir be effrayit⁷ to interpryse the lyk."⁸

To that Convention cam the Erle of Hountlie, weill accompanied with his frinds, in whase favours, to the grait hurt of the Forbasses, the King gaiff out a decreit-arbitrall. Newes war sparpelit athort⁹

¹ Inflamed.² Gifts, presents.³ Go loose.⁴ Worse is like to ensue.⁵ Grievous.⁶ Beseeching.⁷ Afraid, terrified.⁸ The whole of the

preceding document has been supplied by the Author on the margin of the MS.

⁹ Spread, divulged across, or athwart the country.

the countrey, that the Ministers war all to be thair massacred ; quhilk moved me go repear¹ to Perth with diligence, to tak part with my uncle and father in Chryst. Coming ther, Sir James Melvill of Hahill schawes me whow evill my uncle and I was thought of at Court, because of our sermons in St Androis the tyme of the fast, and our doings and sayings at Assemblies, and counsellit us to depart af the town ; quhilk I schew Mr Andro, and willit sa to do, bot in vean : " For I thank God," sayes he, " I am nocht fleyed² nor feible-spirited in the cause and message of Chryst. Com what God pleases to send, our commission salbe dischargit !"

At last the Commissionars of the Kirk war callit, wha, coming in befor the King and his Counsall, delyverit thair Greiffes and Articles ; quhilk being read, Captan James³ beginnes to threttin, with thrawin brow, and bosting langage.⁴ " What !" sayes he, " wha dar subscriyve thir treasonable Articles ?" &c. Mr Andro answeres, " We dar, and wil subscriyve tham, and gif our lyves in the cause !" And withe all starts to, and taks the pen fra the Clark, and subscriyves, and calles to the rest of the breithring with couragius speitches ; wha all cam and subscriyvit. This bauldnes, when the Duc and Captan perceavit, they gatherit thairon that the Kirk haid a bak,⁵ and becam effrayit ; and, efter sum calmer langage, dimissit tham in peace, whom everie an supposed they sould haiff bein hard-liar delt withall.

In the monethe of August thereafter, certean of the Nobilitie and Barrones of the realme repearit to the King at Ruthven, in the Erle of Gowrie's hous, and schew his Majestie whow all things went wrang be the misgoverning of that new Counsall com latlie from France, to the grait offence and greiff of all his guid subjects, the heavie vexation of the Kirk, and extream perrell of the comoun-weill ; cravit, thairfor, maist humblie of his Majestie, that he wald content till⁶

¹ Repair.² Terrified, affrighted.³ Stewart.⁴ With frowning

brow and threatening language.

⁵ Had backing or support.⁶ To.

abandone the said Counsall, and tak him to be counsallit be his auld Nobilitie, as his princelie progenitours haid done, and the fundamentall lawes of Scotland cravit; and sa furthe, as at mair lainthe is contained in a Declaration of them, published soone thairefter in print. And sa the King and the Duc war dissivered,¹ and never saw uther againe.

This brought a grait releive to the Kirk, and the honest breithring of Glasgw and Edinbruche, that war soar troublit be the said Duc. Whowbeit, the treuthe is, for aught I know, (and I know whatever the specialles of the Kirk knew, that I am sure,) the Kirk was nather art, part, read nor counsall in that mater, nather luiket for anie sic thing at thair being in St Jhonstone. And what ever the instruments war and respected, they could nocht but rejoice in God, and thank him for delyvering King, Kirk, and Comoun-weill of sic cownsaill, as sett tham selves plainlie to pervert all.

Within few dayes thairefter, Jhone Durie gat leive to ga ham to his awin flok of Edinbruche: At whase retourning ther was a grait concurs of the haill town, wha met him at the Nather Bow; and, going up the streit, with bear heads and loud voices, sang to the praise of God, and testifeing of grait joy and consolation, the 124th Psalm, "Now Israel may say, and that trewlie," &c., till heavin and erthe resoundit. This noyes, when the Duc, being in the town, hard, and ludgit in the Hie-gat, luiked out and saw, he rave his berde² for anger, and hasted him af the town; and remeaned in Dumbartan, at the Wast Sie, whar, or³ he gatt passage, he was put to als hard a dyet as he causit the Erle of Morton till use ther, yea, evin to the tother extremitie that he haid usit at Court: For, wheras his kitching was sa sumptuous that lumpes of butter was cast in the fyre when it soked,⁴ and twa or thrie crownes warit upon a stok of keall dressing,⁵ he was fean till eat of a magre guse, skowdrit with bar stra.⁶

¹ Dissevered, parted.² Tore his beard.³ Ere, before.⁴ Grew dull.⁵ Were expended on the dressing of a single stock or head of kale or colewort. ⁶ He was fain to eat of a lean goose scorched with barley straw.

In that monethe of October, the Generall Assemblie convenit at Edinbruche, whar, with freche courage, the Bischopes war sett upon, and seveire ordour takin with tham; also sic as haid been evill instruments to the Duc against the Kirk war takin ordour with. Amangs the rest, Mr David Macgill, Advocat, for penning of sklanderus and wicked proclamation, publissed against the Kirk. This was a man of als grait, solide, and naturall a wit as in our tyme, excellling thairin all his colleages of the Session and lawers,¹ bot without all sense of God, and with a prydfull disdean and contempt of the ministerie. I hard him als dispytfullie and lightlifullie, being in his awin house, tak upe my uncle, Mr Andro, being send with uthers from the Assemblie to him, as movit me, being present, urtherwayes estimated nocht verie impatient, to almaist debord,² nocht onlie with tounge, bot hand. Bot, or he died, with a terrible strak of conscience, God tamde him lyk a lamb; sa that Mr Andro coming to him againe, and I with him, was as the Angell of God in his eis; cust his hat to the ground, and could skarslie luik him in the face, till he hard out of his mouthe the words of consolation, the quhilk he gaped for as a gorbet,³ and receavit as Cornelius the instruction of Piter; yea, the meinneest of the ministerie that cam to visit him, was mair to him then giff the King and the Lords haid com to him. I thought often that was a cleir accomplisment of Esaias' prophecie, "The lyon sall eat stra lyk a bullok," &c. He died maist happellie and sweetlie, efter divers yeirs humiliation, with these words in his mouthe, "Lord, in thy light, let me sie light."

At that Assemblie, I was earnestlie suted, be the Town of Stirling, to be thair Pastor; bot the wark of Theologie being yit in the tender bridding leaff,⁴ my uncle, Mr Andro, could nocht consent thairto, nor the Kirk, with his discontentment,⁵ command; whowbeit, my mynd was to the ministerie, remembering ever my vow, and nocht the mair unwillinglie, that I haid the purpose of my mariage in hand.

¹ Lawyers. ² To exceed proper bounds, to lose self-command. Fr. *deborder*.

³ A young nestling or unfledged bird, (literally a young crow.) ⁴ In the tender young leaf bursting from the bud.

⁵ Displeasure.

M.D.LXXXIII.

The yeir following, 1583, in the end of Apryll, and begining of May, the Generall Assemblie convenit at Edinbruche. That Assemblie was frequentlie keipit¹ be the nobilitie, (for ther was presentlie a Convention of the Esteates at Edinbruche,) wha requested the Assemblie to approve thair proceedings, in reparing to his Majestie at Ruthven, &c. The breithring's judgment was, That God haid glorified his nam, and wrought thairby to the grait ease and comfort of his Kirk, as they haid fund hithertils;² as for the instruments, they could nather approve nor disprove, bot wissit with thair hartes they might be fund sanctified veshalles³ of mercie to the Lord. To the quhilk effect, at least, they desyrit an act to be insert in the Buiks of the Assemblie; to the quhilk the Kirk wald nocht condescend till they haid the King's guid will and consent thairunto. The quhilk his Majestie, sending Coronall Wilyeam Stewart, new com ham, and of grait credit, and Mr David Lindsay, to the Assemblie, in large termes and maner assented unto; and sa it past, as is exstant in the Buiks of the Assemblie. Amangs the rest, Jhone Dury haid a⁴ day in his doctrine a verie cleir and pertinent comparisone for the purpose, of the blind man in the 9th of Jhone's Evangel. When the Pharisies said that Chryst was but a sinner, Whow could he do anie guid? "I can nocht tell," sayes the blind man, "bot a thing I am sur of, that I was blind, and now I sie." This he applied with grait evidence and approbation of the heirars.

At that Assemblie I married my wyff, the first day of May, and gat the blessing of the best breithring of the Kirk; the quhilk, my blessed God of Heavin be blessit for, I haiff fund wonderfull effectuall to this houre, for als grait helpe and comfort in my calling, even in the middes of her heavie disease and impotencie, as anie brother in the land hes. And whowbeit, the haill course of my lyff sen syne⁵ has bein, in outward appeirance, bot a scholl of afflictiones, yit (alas! for thankfulness) and maist halsome⁶ and happie scholl, with a mix-

¹ Numerously attended.
Since that time.

² Hitherto found.
⁵ Wholesome.

³ Vessels. ⁴ Ono.

ture of als manie provisiones, preservationes, privat profits, pleasures, joyes, and consolationnes, as ever anie of the secret annes¹ of the Lord receavit.

In the monethe of Junie thairefter, at the beginning thairof, a heavie tertian fever, called comounlie "the excese,"² owertuk me; quhilk pynned me extreamlie, namlie, in the hat³ of it, that ten or twall hours I wald ly burning thairin and reaving, and ryse againe without anie swyt. This continowed till the middes of the monethe of August.

All this whyll, sen the Generall Assemblie in Apryll, anno 1582, and befor, untill this August, a lytle befor Bischope Adamsone keipit his castle, [lyk a tod in his holl,⁴] seik of a disease of grait fetiditie, and oftymes under the cure of women suspected of witchcraft, namlie, an wha confessit hir to haiff lernit medecin of an callit Mr Wilyeam Simsone, that apeired divers tymes to hir efter his dead,⁵ and gaiff hir a buik, &c. This woman being examined be the Presbyterie, and fund a witche, in thair judgment, was giffen to the Bischope to be keipe in his castle for execution, bot he sufferit hir to slipe away; bot within thrie or four yeirs thairefter sche was takin, and execut in Edinbruche for a witche.

[It was reported for veritie to us, that the Bischope consulted with these witches anent the King's estate, of the countrey, and his awin; and gat a response, that he sould stand sa lang as the King stud. Bot the devill, as he uses to do, deceavit him ther. Bot, verelie, about these witches we war plane and scharpe with him; bathe from pulpit, in doctrine, and be censur of our Presbyterie.⁶]

Nochtwithstanding, the King coming to St Androis about the end of July, and seperating him selff ther from the Lords that haid seasit about him at Ruthven, the Bischope becomes a haill man at-teanes,⁷ and occupies the pulpit befor the King, lustelie declaming, as it was markit, in a possessit and inragit maner, against Ministerie,

¹ Ones. ² Fever and ague. It is also met with in the MS. under these various forms—*arcs*, *axis*, *axysis*, and *axies*. ³ In the last stage of the fever. ⁴ A fox

in his hole or den. Margin. ⁵ Death. ⁶ This is added by the Author on the margin of the MS.

⁷ Becomes at once, all of a sudden, a whole man.

Lords, and all thair proceedings ; and he that often professit from pulpit, befor, that he haid nocht the sprit of application, gat the gift of application be inspiration of sic a sprit as neve^r spak in the Scriptures of God. And because it was reported for treuthe, that the Duc in Paris haid deid a Papist, he maid opin contradiction thairto, affirming, for certean, that he deid a guid Protestant, quhilk he provit be schawin of a skroll in his hand, quhilk he callit the Duc his Testament : Bot an honest merchant woman, sitting befor the pulpit, and spyng it narowlie, affirmed it was a compt of a four or fyve yeir auld dett, that a few dayes befor sche haid send to him ; wharof sche gat na mair payment nor¹ the Duc his executors maid hir !

At that tyme, Sir Robert Melvill cam to the Collage to Mr Andro, and, as a frind, schew² him whow evill the King was informit of him, besaught him thairfor to go to the King, and purge him self of these calumnies. Quhilk Mr Andro refusit to do, saying, purgation presupponit foulness, wherof his conscience, nor na man, was able justlie to accuse him in anie kynd of undewtifulnes to the King's Majestie : Giff his Majestie deasyrit his coming to him for his advyse, in maters of the Kirk or comoun-weill, or anie uther dewtifull obedience, he wald maist humblie do it with all observance ; but he wald nocht be an indirect accusar of him self to his Sovereign.

The Counsallours and Courteours now giffes out, that the King captived befor, thought him selff at libertie, and sa settes tham to be evin, bathe with the Lords of the Read of Ruthven and with the Kirk, quhilk they sklanderit as allowars of treassone. Yit craftelie, for the space of halff a yeir or mair, dissembling with the Lords, they begin to put at some of the Kirk. And, in the monethe of November, Jhone Durie of new is dischargit Edinbruche ; and coming ower to St Androis, whar I haid taken upe hous, efter the vacans,³ he finds his douchtar, my wyff, bot beginnand to convaless

¹ Than.² Shewed.³ Recess, vacation.

of a deadlie hat fiver,¹ (wharout of sche haid cullit² with a bleding excessive, sa that, for ought the mediciners could do, it steyed nocht four and twentie hours till lyff was almost flitting; bot the Lord haid mercie on me, and sparit hir for a speciall wark of comfort to me against the day of a grait evill;) and tareing bot a few dayes, behoved to go to his ward in Montrose, to the quhilk I convoyit him. Be the way, a lytle befor we cam to the furde of the Water of Lownan, a sow comes in the hie rod befor us, and trottes on toward the furd, swothens ower befor us. Now, the water was weill grait in speat,³ whar, we being in the middes thairof, my father, Jhone Durie's horse lyes down in the water, and committes his rydar to swoming with the stream; bot it pleasit God, I being nixt under him, caught him be the cott neak,⁴ and taking a gripe of my horse mean,⁵ he wad⁶ and wan to land: Wharof I incuragit him, speattes of afflictiones war to sease on us, bot the Lord sould deliver out of them all. Sa, coming in that countrey, I acquainted him,⁷ and recommendit to all our frinds; whom he finding thairefter ever loving and frindlie, fand my mariage a speciall providence of God towards him.

That was a dark and heavie wintar to the Kirk of Scotland, eclipsed and bereft of thrie grait lights! Of Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, in the beginning thairof; Mr Thomas Smeton, in the middes, (of quhilk sort I wat nocht giff⁸ ther was manie scores in all Christiandome for all sort of lerning and godlines;) and, in the end of the wintar, Mr Wilyeam Clark, my predecessour, a man, whowbeit nocht in rank of lerning with the uther twa, yit the light and lyff in the part he dwelt in, mikle belovit and regratted of all sorts of persones that knew him, namlie, that he haid the charge ower: Ower sure a presage of a grait calamitie and owerthraw schortlie till ensue upon the Kirk of Scotland! Amangs divers Epitaphes wherewith Mr Andro beualit⁹ this so grait a loss, I man heir insert an, becaus it stiks recentlie in my memorie:

¹ Hot or burning fever.² Cooled.³ Was very great or full with

a fresh, or spait.

⁴ Neck of his coat.⁵ Horse's mane.⁶ Waded.⁷ Introduced him, or made him acquainted with all his friends.⁸ Grant, allow.⁹ Bewailed.

Vix, heu ! vix raptum, deflevimus Arbuthnotum ;
 Vix, heu ! justa datis solvimus exequiis.¹
 Et premit altera mors, et funere funus acerbat,
 Et magno extincto lumine, majus obit.
 Ille quidem Arctoa tenebras de nocte fugabat ;
 Fulgebas medio Glasgua stella die.
 Quod si luce sua spoliata est noxque diesque
 Nostra, Eheu ! quantis obruimur tenebris.
 Aut ergo e tenebris revoca lucem, aut hominum lux,
 Christe, redi, ut nobis stat sine nocte dies !

TURNED IN SCOTS.

Yit skarse, alas ! haid we bemeande our deir Arbuthnot's dead,
 Yea, skarse, alas ! his exequies haid we and funerales maid,
 When corps with corps does urn us cear, and deathe with deathe
 does pres,
 And on grait light extinguised,² an other fealles, alas !
 That an the dark and drowsie night be northe did dryve away ;
 That uther as the³ Sun did schyne be southe at mids of day.
 Giff sa, then, bathe our night and day be spuliyet of thair light,
 Sa feirfullie hes us owerwhelmde of darknes what an light ?
 Then ather Chryst from darknes now the light retourn againe,
 Or com our light, that but all night, our day may ay remaine !

MR WEIL I AM⁴ CLARK'S EPITAPHE.

That thow a Maister was, as yet thy Schollar's skill can prove ;
 That thow art weill, full weill, confirms thy godlines and love.
 A cunning Clark, right cleirlye knawin, be nature and be art,
 And all the thrie, in that thow play'd sa weill a Pastor's part ;

¹ Inferiis. Margin of MS.
 Glasgow star as." *Ilb.*

² "Alas ! put out." On margin.

³ "Thow

⁴ "Weil I am," a play on William.

Then happie Master Weil I am Clark, by nam thow sall abyd,¹
As Carell, with Anster, Pittfenweim lyes leache² by Fyff's cost syd!

Bischope Adamson, for all³ his lang seiknes, becam then nocht onlie able to pretche, and keipe Conventiones of Counsall and Eateates, and weat upon Court, bot also, in the wintar, to tak journey and go in ambassage to Eingland, and all to practise the alteration of the haill eateat and discipline of the Kirk. [The Presbyterie had enterit in proces with him, and remitted him to the Synodall, and that to the Generall (Assembly;) in the quhill he was suspendit from the office of the ministerie, as corrupt, bathe in doctrin and lyff, and ordeined to be forder proceedit against. In the meantyme, to eschew the censors of the Kirk, and practise the wrak thairof, he undertakes this journey.⁴]

Coming to Londone about Yull, he informit the Quein the warst of the ministerie and guid nobilitie, and the best of the Court of Scotland. He practised with the Bischopes for Conformitie, and gaiff tham *dextra societatis*; he delt for lernit preatchours to be placed in the best rowmes⁵ of Scotland, knawing weill the best men of the ministerie of Scotland war to be displaced; he wrot verie craftelie to Geneva and Tigurie, and send tham propositiones and questiones desyring to haiff thair judgment; and, finalie, left na stan onturnd ower that might mak for the wark of Sathan, to be-seige and demolishe the walles of Jerusalem.

Whill he is a bissie Bischope about thir things in outting, as the cours was layed, they war nocht ydle at hame; for, in the beginning of Februar, Mr Andro Melvin is summonned to compeir befor the King and Counsall within les nor thrie dayes,⁶ to answer to sic things as war to be leyit to his charge, anent certean speitches uttered be him from pulpit, seditius and treasonable. Mr Andro compeired, accompanied with sum of his schollars and frinds, amangs

¹ "Thy nam als lang sall byd." On margin. ² *Laiche*, low. ³ Notwithstanding. ⁴ This is added by the Author on the margin. ⁵ Places, situations.
⁶ "Summonned on Setterday, to compeir on Mounday nixt." Margin of MS.

whom was Mr Robert Bruce ; and I being in Angus ; convoying my mother-in-law to hir housband, gon away a day befor his summonding, maid diligence, and cam to Edinbruche the day of his second compeirance. The quhilk day he declyned the judicator of the King and Counsall, being accusit upon na civill cryme or transgression, but upon his doctrin uttered from pulpit. The quhilk, when the King and Captan James,¹ then maid Grait Chancellor, with roarings of lyones, and messages of deathe, haid taken sa hat, that all the Counsell and Courtes of the Palice war filled with fear, noyes, and bruttes, Mr Andro never jarging,² nor daschit³ a whit, withe magnanimus courage, mightie force of sprit, and fouthe⁴ of evidence of reasone and langage, planlie tauld the King and Counsall, that they presumed ower bauldie in a constitut esteat of a Christian Kirk, the kingdome of Jesus Chryst, passing by and disdeaning the prophets, pastors, and doctors of the Kirk, to tak upon tham to judge the doctrin, and controll the ambassators and messengers of a King and Counsall graitter nor they, and far above tham ! “ And that,” sayes he, “ yie may sie your weaknes, owersight, and rashnes, in takin upon yow that quhilk yie nather aught nor can do,” (lowsing a litle Hebrew Byble fra his belt, and clanking it down on the burd befor the King and Chancelar,) “ Thair is,” says he, “ my instructiones and warrand ; let sie quhilk of yow can judge thairon, or controll me thairin, that I haiff past by my injuncciones !” The Chanclar, opening the buik, findes it Hebrew, and putes it in the King’s hand, saying, “ Sir, he skornes your Majestie and Counsall.” “ Na, my lord,” sayes Mr Andro, “ I skorn nocht ; bot with all earnestnes, zeall, and gravitie, I stand for the cause of Jesus Chryst and his Kirk.”

Manie tymes put they him out, and callit him in againe, whylles delling with minacings, and whylles with fear⁵ words, to brak him ; bot he grew mair and mair in wesdome, stryngthe, and courage, whowbeit, nan was sufferit to com in with him ; and when he cam out, haid skarslie lasour to draw his end, mikle les to tak anie advyse

¹ Stewart.² Swerved, flinched.³ Abashed.⁴ Abundance.⁵ Fair.

with his frinds and brethring. In end, they procede; admittes an accusar, wha bruikit that nam for ignominie manie yeirs efter, "Wilyeam Stewart the Accusar," a pensionar of the Pryor of St Androis; receaves the articles of accusation; admittes and takes the deposition of a number of witnesses, summoned out of St Androis, namlie his graittest mislykers: Mr Andro ever adhering to his declinator, and at all tymes, as occasion servit, telling tham his mynd mightelie anent the treuthe and weght of the cause of Chryst and his Kirk, and wrangs done thairunto, quhilk he wald be advengit of sum day. And when they haid don all, lytle or na thing for thair purpose gat they provin, bot decernes that Mr Andro, for his un-reverent behaviour befor his Majestie and Counsall, sould be put in ward in the Castle of Edinbruche during the King's will.

In the mean tym, Mr Androe's breithring and frinds is informit, be sic as knew the plattes leyd, that ther was na guid meined to Mr Andro, and, if he war annes fast,¹ he wald nocht be lowsit again, unles it war for the skaffald. This maid him to keipe him quyet a night and a day, during the quhilk tyme I travelit amangs the counsallors. Manie gaiff me fear² words, and said ther was na danger; bot our best frinds read a *dictum*, wrytten on the wall, sounding, "Louss and Leiving." We understud, fordar, that the decreit of the Counsall was alterit, and the ward apointed to be Blaknes, a foull holl, keipit be Captan James' men. Sa, whill we was all in grait and heavie anxietie, and maist duffull doutsomnes, what to counsall—upon the an part, thinking it a hard and sear³ mater to bereave the Scholles and Kirk of Scotland of sic a light and leader, and thinking that moyen⁴ and tyme might mitigat the King, and procure his libertie; upon the uther part, knowing the course and plattes leyd be the enemies, and seing the violent form of Captean James' government, wethought it hardar to jeoperd the lyff⁵ of sic a man, as might be reserved for a better tyme—being, I say, in this dutfull debat⁶ amangs our selves, and everie an with his awin

¹ If he were once laid fast in ward.
or influence.

² Fair, smooth.

³ Sore.

⁴ Means

⁵ Put his life in hazard or jeopardy.

⁶ Doubtful debate.

hart nocht knawin weill wharto to inclyne, Mr Andro him selff comes out in publict, resolut and cheirfull, and bad us all be of guid courage, for God haid resolvit him of the best, and he was assurit wald be with him. Sa we go to dinner in Mr James Lawsons's hous, wha with all his gheasts¹ war exceiding heavie harted, and oftentimes could nocht contain, bot mix thair teares with thair drink. Onlie Mr Andro eat, drank, and crakked² als merrelie and friemyndit as at anie tyme, and mair; and (according to his continuall form at meat, and in all companie) tuk occasion of guid conference and discours, pertinent for the tyme and stat of maters, to his awin wonderfull incouragment, and our grait comfort, interlasing³ alwayes sum mirrie interludes, and drinking to his Captean and ward-fellows, bidding us mak us ready to follow, &c. Sa, efter denner, he gaiff it out, and non knew uther, bot a verie few, that he wald obey the charge, and enter in ward, giff the King commandit, and God sa directed him. Wherupon the meassar⁴ gettes acces, giffes him the charge, with his warrand, till⁵ enter in the Castell of Blaknes within four and twentie houres, the quhilk he receaves reverentlie; bot, within an houre or twa, his brother Roger and he slippes out at the Port, hand for hand, and ludges that night whare God haid preparit; and within four and twentie houres enterit in Bervik, in place of the Blaknes! [A certean of Captan James horsmen haid immediatlie befor riddin out at the sam Port till attend upon him, and convoy him to Blaknes, ther annes⁶ to mak him sure.⁷]

Ther was na thing behind bot bitter teares and heavie lamentation, partlie for the present lose, bot mikle mair for the esteat that was till ensew upon the Kirk, quhilk everie an apprehendit in graitteir and graitteir missour of horroure and feirfulnes. Bot above all, that notable and maist fathfull minister of God, Mr James Lawsons, wha, seing sa terrible a tempest breiding and coming on the schippe of the Kirk, and the wyeseest, stouttest, and ableast schippars and

¹ Guests.² Talked or conversed cheerfully.³ Interlacing, interspersing.⁴ Macer.⁵ To.⁶ For once.⁷ Added by the Author on the margin.

mariners removit, apprehendit the danger sa hiely, and drank in the greiff and melancholie sa deiplic, quhilk being augmentit, and na wayes mitigat, be that quhilk followit, namlie, the undewtifulnes of his flock, wasted his vitall sprites be piece-meall, and, within few monethes thairefter, cutted the thrid¹ of his maist stedable² and comfortable lyff to the Kirk of Scotland.

As for my selff, to confes the treuthe, I was almaist exanimat³ with heavines of hart, the quhilk, if it haid nocht resolvit in aboundance of teares, my lyff haid bein suffocat; for the quhilk cause I tuk me to a chalmer, and closing the dur, let my affectiones brak out, and go louse at randon, quhilk a speciall loving frind of myne, wating on me, sufferit for the space of an houre; bot efter, knokkit sa, and spak to me, that bathe for love and reverence it behovit me till⁴ opin; wha nocht onlie usit all the comforts he could, bot wated upon me, and convoyed me ham to St Androis: This was Andro Wod of Streavithie.

Mr James Lawsons, and Mr Walter Balcanquall, his only colleg that remaned, maid, according to thair disposition, the pulpit of Edinbruche to sound mightelie in the praise of Mr Andro, and to the detestation of the fact of the Counsall, that haid sa proceedit against him; also, they prayit for him in particular, at all thair ordinar sermones, quhilk moved the peiple verie mikle, and gallit the Court.

At my coming to St Androis, my wound, skarslie stemit,⁵ beguid to blude apace,⁶ finding na thing, whar ever I cust my eis, bot mater of melancholie. His bookes war in danger, [he] being put to the horn; and thairfor I addressit me with diligence to pak tham upe, and put tham asyde, and skarse was ther ane quhilk I haid knawin in his comoun use that ranckled nocht my wounds againe, sa that that labour was fellon⁷ peanfull and heavie to me. Bot, above all, it was a daylie hart-brak to me to sie that notable wark, sa weill

¹ Cut the thread.² Available.³ Overcome, half-dead. Lat. *exanimis*.⁴ To.⁵ Stemmed, staunched.⁶ Began to bleed apace.⁷ Very, extremely.

begoun, yeilding, in the first spring-tyme of it, sic appeirance of plentifull fruitis, with sic¹ a calamitie cuttit of from all hope of her-vest. I thought I felt continualie a cauld heavie lumpe lyand on my hart, lyking for to chok me; and sure I am it haid cost me my lyff, giff the mightie hand of my God haid nocht curit bathe bodie and saull; and efter the curing thairof, furnesit, by² all conscience of abilitie and expectatioun, sum missour of strynthe and gifts to tak a piece of courage, and hauld in the spunk³ of lyff in the wark, till God sould haiff mercie, and retourn for the restauration thairof.

For finding, as in the spring-tyme, nature beginning to purge, I helped the sam with a melancolique purgation; quhilk wrought lang, and in grait quantitie, evidentlie be the cullor, kything⁴ the peccant humour. And soone thairefter, finding sum curage, bathe naturall and spirituall, I fell to wark, and by⁵ my awin houres for the langages quhilk I keipet befor, I supplied, as I could, the thrie dayes of Mr Androe's publict Lessones in the comoun places of Religion, and teatched the twa cheiff controvertit heads, *De Verbo et Ecclesia*, in the monethes of Merche and Apryll.

By and besyde⁶ the inward hand of my God, to whom alan per-teines all praise, I haid twa utward speciall comforts. An was the Maisters and members of the Universitie, wha kythed an uther mynd to the wark then I luiked for, and gaiff thair presence and guid countenance and assistance to my Lessons, to my grait comfort and incuragment. The uther was of twa speciall daylie frinds and companiones: the ane Mr Robert Bruce, the uther Mr Robert Durie, wha keipit companie with me continualie, to my grait up-hald and forderance in God's Word. [Mr Thomas Buchanan also was my guid nibour and frind, at that tyme, and all his dayes.] Of that an wharof, namlie, for the grait praise of the caire and providence of God towards his Kirk, I man⁸ remember sum thing mair at lainthe.

¹ Such.
besides,

² Beyond.
⁶ Over and above.

³ Spark..

⁴ Manifesting.

⁷ Supplied from margin of MS.

⁵ Forbye,
⁸ Must.

Mr Robert Bruce, second sone to the Lard of Arthe, brought up in letters, past his course of Philosophie in the Universitie of St Androis; and thairefter, be his father furnesit, was sent to France, whar, and in the Universitie of Lovan, in the Law Countreyes, he studiet, namlie, till¹ Humanitie and the Jurisprudence, quhilk his father and frinds haid sett to be the end of his studies. Thairefter, coming hame, he is directed till attend on Court and Session, for his father's effeares and his frinds, till the Lord began to call upon him, and wourk² stranglie in his conscience, sa that he haid na rest nor confort, bot in the Word of God and companie of guid men. Yit the manifold effeares of his father and frinds continualie importuning him, maid him to stryve against the working of his hart; bot in vean, for he was fean at last plainlie to schaw his father, that ther was na rest nor lyff for him, unles he haid leive to go to the studie of Theologie, and be in companie of Mr Andro Melvill, in St Androis. Sa his father permitted at last, and he cam to us at the beginning of that sam wintar, at the end wharof Mr Andro was put att, whom maist lovinglie and fathfullie he assisted till his departour out of the countrey, and syne retourned again to us, and sett him selff mair earnestlie then ever befor to his studies; and that nocht onlie to be a heirar, but to essay what gift God wald giff him of utterance of that quhilk he studeit. And all this movit, yea, drawn as it war perforce, with a mightie inwart working, quhilk sufferit him never to gett rest bot when he was about that purpose, he said to me a³ day, in relieving of his mikle and sear occupied mynd, in privat conference purmeineing⁴ in the fields, that or he cust him self again in that torment of conscience quhilk was leyd on him for resisting the calling of God to the studie of Theologie and Ministerie, he haid rather go throw a fyre of brinston halff a myll lang!

Sa, befor he wald open his mouthe at our table, whar ordinarlie ther, meall about,⁵ the students opened upe a chapter, and gather-

¹ To. ² Wrought. ³ One. ⁴ Walking. O. Fr. *pourmener*, (*promener*.)

⁵ At each meal alternately, in their turn.

ed sum nottes thairupon, he desyrit to haiff sum exerceise in privat with me and Mr Robert Dury; and sa, annes in the ouk¹ first, thairefter thryse, our tyme about, in a large wyde hous of the Col-lage, we handlit a chapter, till that way we past throw the Epistles to the Romanes and Hebrews: But, or² we cam onie way fordwart in the Hebrews, Mr Robert tuk the haill exerceise to him self, and haid us auditors, to our grait joy and comfort. Therefter, we drew him to the scholl, whar the students haid ther privat exerceises be-for the Maisters; from that to the table, and syne³ to the morning doctrine on the Sabbath, to quhilk a multitude of the best peiple of the town resorted. Sa it pleased God at that tyme, to my sin-gular uphault and incuragment in his service, to begin to trean⁴ upe and fram⁴ that maist notable preatchour for the tyme of restitution of his deceyit and captived Jerusalem.

During this tyme, the first intelligence, be wryt, I gott of Mr Andro, was of the Bischope's bissines, a just copie of whase Articles he send me hame; the quhilk I haiff thought meit heir to insert, for cleiring of the controversie betwix the Kirk and him, and to schaw whow craftelie and malitiuslie that sycophant calumniattes the Ordour and Conclusionnes of Discipline-befor sett down; thairby to haiff catchit a vantage, giff he could haiff gottin, be sic informa-tion, a censour of the Breithring of the French Kirk, Genev, Ty-gurie, &c., and to mak us and our Discipline odius to the Quein and Kirk of Eingland:

ARTICLES QUHILK THE BISCHOPE OF ST ANDROIS GAIFF OUT IN
EINGLAND TO THE FRENCH KIRK AT LONDONE, SEND TO GE-
NEV, TYGURIE, &c. 1583.

THE ORDOUR APOINTE BE THE MINISTERS OF SCOTLAND OBTRUDIT TO
THE KING BE THAM.

"1. As ther [is] a difference betwix the Civill Polecie and Go-

¹ Once a week.

² Ere, before.

³ Then, afterwards.

⁴ Frame, mould.

vernment of the Kirk, sa is ther divers governours apointed for the an and for the uther.

"2. The Civill Magistrat rewlit in his politik effeares only, and the Spirituall Governours in the effeares of the Kirk.

"3. As Spirituall Rewlares does exceid thair bounds, if they interpryse upon civill and politik matters ; so does the Prince or Civill Magistrat, if he pretend in maters Ecclesiasticall.

"4. The exemple of Uziah, King of Juda, declares that Kings could be affrayed to middle with maters pertaining to the Kirk.

"5. It is an heresie to a Prince to usurpe the tytle to be called The Head of the Kirk.

THESE ABOVE WRYTTIN CONCERN THE PRINCE'S DEWTIE : THESE THAT FOLLOW CONCERN THE GOVERNMENT AND POLECIE OF THE MINISTERIE.

"1. The Ordour wharby the Kirk could be governit, alsweill in preatching of the Word, ministration of Sacraments, as Discipline Ecclesiasticall, is sufficientlie and fullie sett furthe in the Scriptures, and hes neid of na farder ; and the Ministers of the Word of God could haiff na injunctionnes giffen¹ to tham in preatching of the Gospell, bot could speak as the Word of God puttes in thair mouthe.

"2. The Government of the Kirk consistes in thrie sortes ; in Pastor, Doctor, Senior,² wha aught to haiff the hail Discipline of the Kirk in thair powar ; and Pastors to be sic as hes a particular flok, wha lykwayes could be called Bischopes.

"3. The office and esteat of Bischopes, as they ar of Provinces and Dyoceis, can nocht stand with the Word of God.

"4. Everie Pastor within his awin Congregation could haiff a number of Seniores or Eldars, of laic men,³ to assist tham in counsall for the government of the Kirk ; and in everie compas, or reasonable precinct of boundes, thair could be erected a Presbyterie, consisting in the Pastors and Doctors, and sic uther laic persones, as be election may be associat within the sam. And these Presby

¹ Given.

² Elder.

³ Laymen.

ters sould haiff cair of the doctrine and maners within thair bounds, and of the Election of Pastors, when anie of thaim sall happin to inleak;¹ and powar of excommunication, and disposition of benefices.

"5. The Synodall Assemblie does consist in manie Presbyteries; lyk as the Presbyteries in manie particular Kirks; and in the Presbyteries and Generall Assemblies an Moderator is to be chosin, be the consent of the rest, at everie meitting; and his powar to continow to the nixt Assemblie thairefter.

"6. Thair is appellation from the particular [Kirk] to the Presbyterie, from the Presbyterie to the Synodall, and from the Synodall to the Generall, if anie man be hurt or greivit. And the Generall Assemblie does consist of the Commissionars, quhilk ar directed from the Synodall Assemblies to the Generall: And, in lyk maner, the Assemblie Generall sould haiff a Moderator chosin at everie meitting.

"7. The Assemblie Generall hes powar to mak Lawes, Canones, and Constitutionnes, for the effeares of the hail Kirk, and to determine in all maters Ecclesiasticall, in Election of Pastores, Deposition, Suspension, Excommunication, Heresie, and whatsumever effeares pertaining to the Kirk.

"8. The Assemblie Generall may appoint tymes of thair convention from Assemblie till Assemblie, and convey thaim selves without anie licence impetrat of the Prince for that effect.

"9. The Assemblie Generall hes also powar to direct Commissionars to the King's Parliament; quhilks Commissionars sould haiff the powar and authoritie of the Kirk, and nocht sic as ar Bischopes, except they be from tyme to tyme authorised with thair commission.

"10. The Assemblie Generall hes also powar to direct, of thair awin number, certean to visit the Kirks, as occasion sall fall. And ther is na ordinar powar to visit, except they haiff commission of the Kirk, and be directed from the Generall Assemblie to that effect.

¹ To be deficient or awanting, e.g. by death, &c.

" 11. Benefices ar the invention of the devill, and na man aught to possess rent or leiving; bot Deacones sould lift up the Kirk-rents, and distribut the sam, according to the ancient canones.

" 12. Patrones and Patronages ar nocht to be tolerated in the Reformit Kirk, as occasions of intolerable corruptionnes. Bot the Patrons sould resing¹ in favours of the Deacones: And giff Patrones sould be permitted, they sould nocht haiff the choise of the election of the persone; bot efter the persone is elected be the Parochine² or Presbyterie, then the Patrones aught to confer the leiving onlie to the persone intrant, and the distribution of the said leiving immediatlie to be giffen to the Deacones.

" 13. Ther belanges to the Patrimonie of the Kirk all sic temporall and spirituall lands, teinds, rents, as hes bein at anie tyme foundit or dotted³ thairunto; and it is a sacrilage to the Prince, or anie inferior persone, to middle thairwith, except the Deacones onlie to the use forsaid.

" 14. Giff the Prince wald contravein the Actes of the Generall Assemblie, he may be alsweill excommunicat as anie inferiour in the realme.

FOLLOWS THE JUDGMENT OF THE BISCHOP OF ST ANDROIS, QUHILK HE
PRESSED TO HAIF HAD CONFIRMED BE THE LERNED DOCTORS AND MINISTERS
OF GOD'S WORD IN EINGLAND, GENEV, OR ELSQHER, FOR SUPPLANTING OF
THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

1. *For the Prince.*

" 1. It is ane of the graittest parts of the Princelie office, to appoint a godlie Ordour to the Kirk, and to tak head that the sam be meanteined and keipit.⁴

" 2. It proceidit from the tyrannie of the Paipe, till arrogat to the Clergie the hail Government of the Kirk, and to exclud ther-

¹ Resign.

² Parish.

³ Left, bequeathed, or endowed.

⁴ " Giff thir grunds be fast stuken to or nocht, this tym's experience may tell! 1690." The above note has been inserted by the Author on the margin of MS.

fra Christian Princes and godlie Magistrates, wha sould be nurishes¹ of the Kirk, and keipars of bathe the Tables.²

"3. Princes, in thair awin countries, ar cheiff heades under Chryst, as weill in Ecclesiasticall Polecie as Temporall; and thair judgment in bathe is soveran.

"4. Giff the Rewlars of the Kirk hes done wrang, appellation is lawfull to the Princlie powar, be whase autoritie the saming sould be redressit.

2. *For the Ministrie.*

"1. It is maist necessar that a guid Ordour and Form be prescryvit in the Kirk, alsweill in the service of God as in publict doctrin, that all things may be don ordourlie, and na man transgres the limites and bounds apointed in the Scripture, under pretext of the libertie of the Spreit of God.

"2. The Government of the Kirk does consist in the autoritie and powar of the Bischope, to whom ar committed the dyoceise and provinces in government.

"3. The Office of Bischope is of the Apostolic institution, and maist aggreable to the primitive puritie of the Kirk of God.

"4. The Ordination and ordinarie Judgment of Pastors belangit to the Bischope, without whase autoritie, whasoever does presume to the Pastorall cure enters nocht at the dur, bot ower the dyk.³

"5. Doctors hes na power to preatche, bot be the apointment of Bishops; nather haiff they anie fordar powar in governing the Kirk.

"6. Seniors or Eldars, of the laic sort, is nocht aggreable with the Scripture, nor ancient puritie of The Primitive Kirk.

"7. Presbyteries to be apointed of gentilmen, or lords of the ground, and uthers associatt with the Ministers, is na uther thing bot till induce a grait confusion in the Kirk, and an occasion of continuall sedition.

"8. The ordour of apointing Moderators in Presbyteries or As-

¹ Nurses.

² Of the Law.

³ Over the wall.

semblies to be alterit at thair meitting, is nather Canonically efter the Scriptures, nor aggreiable to the ordour of The Primitive Kirk ; in the quhilk it hes bein locall in the Bischope's seat, and nocht elective and variable, as was the Wardeanes of the Frires.

" 9. The Synodall Assemblie sould be moderat and governed be the Bischope, in everie Province and Dyocie, and be him sould ordour be takin that the Kirks be weill servit.

" 10. The Generall Assemblie of a realme hes nocht powar to conveyin tham selff bot upon a grait and weghtie occasion intimat to the Prince, and licence granted thairto.

" 11. Ther is na Assemblie that hes powar till establishe lawes and constitutiones within the realm, bot sic as ar allowit of the Prince and his Esteat.

" 12. The resort of the Prelates of the Kirk to the King's Parliament and grait Counsall, for the weghtie effeares of the realme, is maist necessar ; and that Ministers sall presum to direct of thair number to the Counsall and Parliament, it is an intolerable arrogancie.

" 13. Visitation is an office necessar in the Kirk, and proper to the function of a Bischope, and sic as ar apointed be him for that effect.

" 14. Benefices and Patronages hes bein zealuslie and godlie apointed be our antecessours ; and Christian Pastors may with saiff conscience enjoy the saming. And the Deacones to be apointed ower the Kirk-rents is an preposterous imitation of The Primitive Kirk, without anie kynd of reasone.

" 15. The Patrimonie of the Kirk is that quhilk, be the lawes and esteates of countreyes, belangs to the Kirk and interteinment thairof, and nocht that abundance wherwith the Roman Kirk did owerflow."

Thir last Articles, plean contradictorie to the establissed Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, the said Bischope of St Androis presented to the Bischopes of Canterbury and London ; also to the Ministers of The Frenche Kirk at Londone, and to sindrie uther

lernit men, alleaging tham to be foundit upon the Scriptures, and maist sinceare antiquitie; willing tham, be vertew of a commission giffen to him be the King's Majestie of Scotland, to intreat of thir maters, to confirm the sam be thair subscription and approbation. And mairower, he wrot to Genev and Tigurie sinistrus information of all our proceedings, and as best might serve to purchase, and haid bein never so lytle a hinkling¹ of ther pen till haiff born out his course, and maid vant of for his creadit at Court. Bot, as my uncle directed me, I maid his bissines knawin at hame, and informit all the guid breithring of his proceedings, and send copies of his Articles abrode throwout the contrey.

And, on the uther part, Mr Andro, wha warred² him far in credit without the contrey, [amangs the best and maist lerned,] namlie at Genev and Tigurie, wrot unto the Kirks at lainthe, in the breithring's nam, and informit tham of the man, and all his proceedings and purpose in his delling with thame. The quhilk Epistle, because it cleires bathe the cause and storie better nor³ I can set it down, I haiff translated, and thought maist meit to be insert in this place.

[EPISTLE FROM MR ANDRO MELVILL]

TO THE MAIST REVEREND FATHERS, AND OUR MAIST LOVING BREITHRING IN
THE LORD JESUS, THE PASTORS OF THE KIRK OF GENEVA AND TIGURIE.

"It is now almaist fyftein yeirs, Reverend Fathers in God, and Breithring in the Lord, maist Worschipfull, sen that grave and lerned men, and that quhilk is cheiff burning with wyse and sincere zeall of the glorie of God, and helthe of his Kirk, informed with your precepts, and instructed with your exemples, hathe, in the first planting of our Kirks, conjoyned with the puritie of Doctrine the holines of Discipline: And that thair uniforme consent and aggreiment in all poinctes witnessed unto the haill warld, might lest unto the posteritie, they subscriyvit your Confession. In the futt-

¹ Inkling, hint.

² Surpassed, excelled.

³ Than.

steppes of the quhilk guid and godlie renoumed men, we thereafter insisting, haiff, nixt efter the heavinlie oracles of the Word of God, following the doctrine and constitution of your Kirk, keip the sam course unto this present day; and farther, also leanning on the mercie and guidnes of our God, and on the strynthe of his Holie Spreit, we dout nocht constantlie, without weireing, to hald the sam unto the end. Of the quhilk, our purpose and constant aggriment with yow in doctrine and discipline, we haiff fund of God's guidnes this fruit, that induring sa manie yeirs na heresie hes sprung out in our Kirks; nan com from uther places hes taken rut, entered anie thing deiplye, or remeaned anie space of tyme in the hart of anie man, mikle les to haiff growin upe or copen abrode.¹ Na obstinat Papist or trespassour, publictly knawin, hes it sufferit lang to converse amangs us, untean² ordour withe. Sa it hes pleasit the Lord to bles the labours of his servantes, undertakin according to the direction of his Word; and unto this day to heape sa grait and incredible happines, of his awin singular guidnes, upon the Congregationes of Scotland.

"But in the mean tyme, alas! whill as we answerit nocht unto sa grait and rare a grace and guidnes of God toward us, be that thankfulness of mynd, obedience to his Word, and diligence in our dewties, that becam us, behauld, of the fearfull judgment of God, but indeid justlie deservit, Sathan sa blinds with avarice and ambition ane nocht of us albeit amangs us,³ bearing the office of a Minister, that forgetting, as sayes the poet, bathe his awin scham and the helthe of his breithring, and (that quhilk is mair miserable!) casting af all guid conscience, and making shipwrak of his fathe, goes fordward without ceassing to mix heavin with erthe, and with utter confusion to trouble all things. For, when he haid left his flok, and unwitting of the Kirk haid croppin in⁴ Court; when he haid nocht onlie with subtile craft and polecie intrudit him self in the esteat of fals Bischopes, of new sprung upe againe from the holles, the quhilk he haid oppugned of befor, bot also haid taken planlie unto him

¹ Crept abroad. ² Untaken. ³ One not of us, although among us. ⁴ Crept into.

that fals usurped authoritie quhilk in his sermons publiclie he haid damned,¹ quhilk opinlie in a maist frequent Assemblie Generall of the Kirk he haid oftentimes abjurit, and the quhilk, be sindrie subscriptions and hand-wryttes, he haid renuncit and giffen ower; when, as he haid addicted him selff to the maist vyle servitude and slaverie, and with the sworn enemies to the guid estate of the Countrey, Kirk, and Relligion, in a maist filthie cause joynit and bandit him selff; when, that in doutfull maters, and disparit helthe of his body, he haid nocht onlie consulted with witches concerning the estate of King and Countrey, bot also for releiff of his seiknes he haid earnestlie sought the helpe and support of devillrie and witchcraft; when, that efter a stubborn sylence from pretching the space of a haill yeir, under clok of sicknes and infirmitie, he haid, to foster and steir upe the pernitiis affectionnes of the Court, maid twa maist turbulent and seditius sermons; when he haid, with the Machiavellians of the Court, and the Pape's traffectars at ham,² devysit maist crewall counsallies against the lyff, lands, and estate of the best and maist zealus noble men, and uthers guid gentilmen and subjects of the countrey; when he haid don monie uther things, quhilk nather tyme sufferes, and scham förbiddes, to wryt; and now, when formall proces upon the forenamed maist odious and hynous crymes was lead and deducit against him befor the Presbyteries and Assemblies, and for that cause, efter that he was inhibit, as maist sklanderus and unworthie till use the function of ministerie, unto the tyme that the last censor of the Kirk might strik upon him, to cut him of from the body of the sam as a maist contagious and corrupt member, he obtaines a frie legacie from his Majestie to pas to uther nationnes, whar, under pretence and clok of curing his diseases and seiking of his helthe, he might moyen³ all the meanes and wayes he could (as his verie deids hes declarit) to vex and trouble the Kirk, the quhilk now he haid leyit in his hart to slay and destroy as his deadlie enemy. Yie will giff us, as we hope, this leive, (Reverend Fathers and Breithring in the Lord,) in the cause of

¹ Condemned.² Traffickers at home.³ Compass or effect. Fr. *moyenner*.

God and his Kirk, simple and planlie to deall with yow, for that onlie a cearssar of the hart is witnes¹ that we yeild na thing in this present narration to our privat affections, bot rather owerpas² manie things, of sett purpose, quhilk the cause it self requyres.

"In London, then, letting him self out as Ambassator for his Majestie, he thifteiuslie intreated oftentymes of secret purposes with the Ambassadors of France and Spean. Withe our nibour Bischopes (for ther amangs our nibours he remeaned, nather purposed he at the beginning to go anie farder) he haid sic conference, be the quhilk he traducit the best of our nobilitie and subjects as seditius and treasonable, he giffes him self to sic devysses and counsalls, be the strainthe and effect wharof, at this tyme, the maist lernit and fathfull Pastores in bathe the kingdomes ar forced ather haillelie³ to keipe sylence and leave the ministerie, or then by flight and exyll to saiff thair lyves, or els to essay the filthie weiriness of stinking pressones; or then of necessitie to do that quhilk onlie remeanes agains thair dewtie and conscience, to subscriye to the ambitius tyrannie of the fals Bischopes, and to the impietie of manie corrupt rytes and ceremonies.

"Of this comes those Archiepiscopall Letters, wrytten to yow and the Breithring of Tygurie; be the quhilks that mervelus, cunning, and fyne artifice, in feinyeing and dissembling what he will, bathe does burding us with false and forgit crymes, and bring the government of our Kirk, traducit be manie calumnies, into dout and question, albeit he is les ignorant then anie man: And our awin conscience beares us record, us to haiff pressed earnestlie to that, that the Discipline of the Kirk might be taken out of the Word of God, sa far as could be, and that it sould nocht pas a jot from the judgment of your Kirks. Wharfor, lyk as it sould be superfluous to us to open upe and declar our judgment unto yow, namlie, concerning maters of Discipline, seing whatsoever we haiff in that mater, we willinglie and planlie confes to haiff receaved it of yow; and that we altogidder agrie with yow in all poincts, sa

¹ For that only searcher of the heart is witness.² Overpass, omit.³ Wholly.

mervelouslie does our mynds and willes, be the vertew of God's Spreit, concent in an harmonie ; sa will we nocht, for fear bathe of temeritie and impudence, prescryve unto yow anie form of answering, or maner of wrytting againe to the Bischop's Letters and Questionnes. Of this onlie, at this tyme, wald we haiff yow persuadit, that the guid ordour of the Kirk, the quhilk Adamsonsone durst first undermynd secretlie, and thairefter opinlie oppung,¹ and now at last wickedlie to calumniat, fathleslie to mean-swear, and malitiuslie to deteast as Papall tyrannie, mother of confusion, and faggot of sedition, hes bein receavit within our Kirks, conform to the Word of God, and maner of the constitutionnes of your Kirks, ever sen the first tyme that Papistrie was chassit away ; and incontinent approvit be the vottes of the hail esteates of the countrey in Parliament, and, piece and piece, at last, of the mercie of God, hes bein brought to sum mediocritie of perfection, sa far, at the least, as the smalnes of that missour quhilk God hes bestowit upon us might attein unto ; and quhilk thrie yeirs ago hes bein approvin, sealed upe, and ratefeid be the profession of the mouthe, holie and feirfull aithe of the Lord interponit, and subscription of the hand of the King him selff, and everie an of his subjects, grait and small, of what ordour, rank, and estate soever they war ; and that be the express letters patents of his Majestie, commanding all and sindrie, under the hiest pean, to do the sam.

"Now, altho these things be sa in verie deid as is declarit, and this our Discipline be corroborat be divers and manifold use and experience, maister of fooles, in all partes and in everie occasion fallin out continuallie thir xxv yeirs bypast ; nevertheless the adversar, efter that he haid maid the maist godlie and stout, alsweill of the nobilitie as of inferiour esteates, wha haid bein the speciall instruments of God in the defence and establisment of Relligion and the cause of the King, be conducit and suborned accusars, waillit² out of the number of sic men wha haid sauld³ tham selves in saull and body to work all kynd of iniquitie and villanie for warldlie pre-

¹ Impugn, oppose.² Chosen, selected.³ Sold.

ferment, and be¹ fals forgit crymes maist craftelie and deceatfullie leyit upon tham, ather to be accusit of thair lyves and want the head,² or to be comprehendit and casten in prisson, banissed, and forfault, to the intent, that nan sould be left to ganstand thair godles course. This adversar, I say, causit the King's Majestie incontinent, and these Papisticall Epicureans and bludie clients of the Hous of Guise and Quein Mother, be the quhilks his Grace is hauldin in fearfull bandes and abuse, to convocat a Parliament of the thrie Estats of the countrey, to bring the saming into vyle and bund slaverie. For nather durst they reasone of the maters proponit, nor thairefter giff thair vottes and judgments frilie, according to the wounted libertie of the Esteates of Scotland, and the laudable government of our nation; bot, in a new and maist strange maner, the King's will being maid a law and reasone for all things, the Presbyteries ar utterlie perverted, the Pseudo-Episcopall tyranie restorit, the King, be a plean law, receaves a full and absolut powar to command and rewill in maters alsweill Ecclesiasticall as Civill; the sentences of excommunication, lawfullie pronunced be the Presbyteries, be thair autoritie is disanulled, and declarit to be of na forse or effect; and, finalie, all Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, and nixt under the King, all powar of rewling in the Kirk, is giffen to the fals Bischopes, quhilks war of befor, when the Kirk stude, ather maist justlie excommunicat, or lying under the proces of the Kirk's censours, as knawin maist sklanderus and unhoneest persones throwout all the countrey.

“Among the quhilk the cheiff captan and rewar, even the author, and forger, and cheiff executor of all this wickednes, is Patrik Adamsone, the fals Bischope of St Androis; wha, steying upon this perpetuall and pontificall *dictatura*, mervelus it is whow craftelie he rages against the Pastors of the Kirk, and all guid men, for bathe he propynes certean Articles, (skartit³ togidder be him,) or rather blottes of that comlines and ordour quhilk sould be in Chryst's Kirk, drawin newlie out of the dregges of the cupe of the Antichryst

¹ By.² Be beheaded.³ Scraped, scratched.

unto the lawfull Pastors to drink ; and als, be the authoritie of the King, obtenes tham to be subscrivit, under the pean of banishment, incarceration, or depriving of tham from thair ministerie. Be the quhilk Articles, bathe that libertie of preatching the Word being oppressed, is attemperat unto the lusts and pleasures of men ; and steat of Publict Prayer, with the simplicitie of ryttes in ministracion of the Sacraments and celebrating of Mariage, is filthelie adulterat, and manie uther things against the express Word of God is committed. He hes pitiuslie destroyed the Collage a fyve yeirs since, at the command of the King and be a speciall Act of Parliament consecrat to holie erudition and vertew, that onlie a¹ Anti-Seminarie of the knowlage of the tongues and sincere Theologie, in all the realme of Scotland, sett down and planted against the manifold Seminaries of the bissie Jesuites ; casting out thair of all the Professors and Students, and spulyeing² the Bibliothek and wryttings thair of : It nocht being obscure what Sathan purposes by this doing ; to wit, that the light of heavinlie knowlage being extinguisit, we be involved again in the mist and darknes of Jesuiticall sophistrie ; that we, wha began in the Sprit, may end in the fleche ; that the vynyneard of the Lord, spoiled of the savegarde and defence of his hedge, might be eatten upe of wyld beasts ; and, finalie, the walles of Jerusalem cast down, the sanctuarie may be brunt and defylit.

“ Unto the holie peace, concord, and unitie with our nibours, to whase frindschipe we ar joyned sa streatlíe, first be bands of religion, libertie, and conquest thair of by thair speciall helpe and meanes, and thairefter confirmed with manifold benefites, they prefer the favour and frindschipe of the Guisians, and the rest of these monstruus Read-eattins³ in France, quha celebrat that bludie drunken feast of Bartholomew in Paris, with that horrible butcherie of the holie martyres of God, the quhilk our Court now affirmes justlie to haiff bein massacred ! Yea, they have persuadet our Joas

¹ Single, one only.² Plundering, spoiling.³ A Red-ettin, or giant ; a fabulous Rawhead-and-bloody-bones, who conspicuously figures in Scotch Legends.

to receave in Athalia in the association and fellowship of the Scepter and Croun, without whase guid will, benediction, and full deliverance, they contend that nather can he happelie ring¹ and lawfullie at hame, nor obtene the empyre of the whole Ill of Britannie. Be the bludie counsall and direction of the quhilk Athalia, all things hes proceedit, sen Monsieur Obignie's first coming in Scotland; in sic sort, that, according thairto, a thrie yeirs ago, the Erle of Morton, Regent of Scotland, and now latlie the Erle of Gowrie, bothe most stout and valiant advengars and defendars of Relligion and the King's cause, be the fals sentence of corrupted judges, war circumvenit and oppressed. At whase pleasure and will, albeit captive, the best nobilitie and peires of the land, the frakest² and maist zealus in Relligion, in *dicta causa* unhard, ar forfeaulted, apointed for the slauchtar, and drawin to the gibets and comoun place of execution, and all thair guidis and geare, as the clothes of the innocent to the hangman, ar giffen to the saulles³ clyent of Guise and Athalia. The quhilk merciless men, with the guidis and gear of the noblest, best, and maist innocent, as with the spuizie of thair enemies, ar gorgiuslie arrayit, and accompanied warlyke with a sort of limmers and godles suddartes,⁴ most feirfull and dolorous to the guid and godlie, and profitable and plesand to the ungodlie and wicked. They abrogat and braks God's lawes, and maks wrang and unjust, and puts tham scharplie in execution; sa that in na place ever could that be mair treulie spokin,

Jam late impietas grassatur libera, passim

Omnia plena malis :

Cum penes injustos jus est, et jussa malorum

Sunt metuenda bonis.

Now rages louss ungodliness in land,

In everie place all is full of⁵ molest,

¹ Reign. ² The most forward, hearty.
of scoundrels or thieves, and godless soldiers.

³ Soulless.

⁴ A company

⁵ "Ill and" on margin of MS.

Whill as the right is in the wrangfull hand,
And warst men's lawes ar feirfull to the best.

"Sie, now, altho we sould keipe silence, Reverend Fathers and maist loving Breithring in the Lord, what meines the questiones of Adamsone anent the powar of the Prince in making of Ecclesiasticall lawes, and constituting of the Polecie of the Kirk, in convocating of Synods and Generall Assemblies, and in proclaiming of Fastes; to wit, that na thing be sa sur and sacrat amangs us, quhilk be the wickednes of these mischant¹ men sall nocht be violat and undone? He knawes weill aneuche, nather can he be ignorant of that quhilk he hes so often read and lerned of your maist godlie and lerned wrytings, That it perteines nocht to the Prince to prescryve ather Relligion to the Kirk, or Discipline to the Pastors thair of; bot, be his autoritie, to confirme bathe the an and the uther, apointed be God, and sincerlie declarit out of his Word, be the ministrie of his servantes; to revenge and punishe all corrupting of clein doctrin, contempt of holie Discipline, and perturbation of lawfull Ordour, for the quhilk use and purpose he hathe receivit the sword; to decore the Assemblies, giff neid beis, with his presence; to arme the innocence of this Ministrie be his saiffgard and defence; iff ther aryse controversies amangs the Pastors sumtymes, to compose and agrie the sam be his autoritie interponed; to promove,² be guid lawes maid for that effect, these things quhilk ar lawfullie constitut be the Assemblies; and to do manie uther things for the weill of the Kirk, quhilks wer lang to rehers, and unneidfull. Bot far utherwayes does he sitt in the Synods amangs the Pastors then he does in the throne of the kingdome amangs the Esteattes; heir, to mak lawes for subjeets and command, bot ther, to receave lawes from God to obey. And, finalie, the coming of the enemie to be declarit be the sound of the trumpet of the watchmen, as Ezechiell and Joel commands.

"And albeit, that sum things be callit Ecclesiasticall, and uther

¹ Wicked. Fr. *mechant*.

² Promote. Lat. *promovere*.

things Civill, and the Civill apertean to the Comoun-weill, the uther to the Kirk, yit it is nocht sa mikle to be considderit what things is handlit as whow; seing the knowlage of an and the self sam thing, a¹ way, and in sum respect, aperteines unto the Magistrat, and an uther way to the Senat Ecclesiasticall; and yit sic a mater nather does the Kirk civilie nor the Counsall or Parliament ecclesiasticallie intreat—*ἀλία γλαυκας εις Ἀθηνas*—salt to Dysert, or colles to Newcastle! And as twitching the Convention of the Nobilitie at Ruthven, and the judgment of the Assemblie concerning that mater, What neid is ther to wryt? The halliest and best part of the Nobilitie and Esteates of the realme, without anie tumult or slauchter, comprehending and putting in prissone ane or twa wicked men, removed a pest from the Comoun-weill, a sure mischeiff fra the Kirk, and delyverit the King from present danger, bathe of body and saull. The King callit a Convention of the Esteattes. He declarit the danger wherin him self, the Kirk of God, and Comoun-welthe, was brought in by the counsall of wicked men; he commends the fathfulnes and stoutnes of the Nobilitie, wha haid delyverit his Majestie, the Kirk, and Comoun-weill, from sa present a danger, frie and grave sentences and vottes ar spoken, all with a voice² commends the deid: Ane Act is maid be the Esteates, be the quhilk the conveying of the Nobilitie at Ruthven is approven as guid service done for King and Comoun-weill: And at the sam tyme the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk was conveynit, unto the quhilk was send fra the Noble men that tuk sa guid a wark in hand to purge tham from the calumnies of evill-willars, and from all suspicion of privat factionnes and sedition, and to notifie and approve the deed to the Assemblie and all guid men: Ther is also send to the Assemblie ane or twa Commissionars from the King: From the Assemblie also unto the King ther is directed, lykwayes, sum of the Breithring with his Majestie's Commissionars, to understand the King's awin mynd in that mater, and report it againe to the Breithring: In the King's awin nam and words, it is reported to the As-

¹ One.² All with one voice, unanimously.

semblie againe, that his Majestie acknowlegit in verie deid, him self, the Comoun-weill, and the Kirk of God, to haiff bein releived of a maist grait and extream danger; and for that cause thanked God hartlie, and willit the Assemblie, and everie an of the Breithring, according to thair office, diligentlie to travell that the comoun danger now being removit be the stoutnes of the Nobilitie, the wark of delyverance begoun sould be bauldlie prosecut and perfyted, sa that bathe in thair prayers to God, and sermones in publict to the peiple, they sould haiff in speciall recommendation sa guid, sa holie, and wholsome a cause of the King, Kirk, and Comoun-weill. The Assemblie obeyes, and giffes thanks to God in a singular maner, for heiring of the prayers of the Kirk, quhilks haid bein powred out with a solem fast and humiliation a lytle befor the arysing of the delyverance from the sworn suddarts¹ of the House of Guise, and of our Athalia, Obignie being Captan to tham, wha haid sa soarlie² oppressed the King's Majestie, Kirk, and Comoun-weill, with a mistie night of captivitie and blak darknes of schamfull servitude.

"And this is that quhilk our guid Bischope exagitates, to bring the Breithring in hatred and invy; wha eschames nocht befor yow to plead the cause of the Papists, whom he can nocht suffer to be counted for goattes be the trew Pastors, whase office is to feid the lambes of Jesus Chryst. But the bearer presses us, and peradventure this is over mikle, namlie unto you wha is aquented with the smelling out of the craft and subteltie of sic wolffes. And, thairfor, in end, we pray yow, bathe in your privat and publict prayers, to commend to our comoun Father the Kirks in bathe the countries, for the graitest part is destitut of thair Pastors, and sa exponit³ to the intrusion of bludie wolffes; and that yie wald, in this grait darknes, schyne befor us be your fathfull counsall, wha, sear against our willes, ar pullit away from our awin dear flockes. From, &c."

M.D.LXXXIV.

Bot to turn bak againe, and deduce the storie of our esteat till

¹ Soldiers, mercenaries.

² So sorely.

³ Exposed.

we followed Mr Andro, and war all fean to flie efter him. About the beginning of Apryll that yeir, 1584, the devill essayit the stay of my weik travelles for halding upe the wark of the Collage of Theologie, or rather hadding in anie spark of lyff in it. For the CEconomus of the Collage, wha held the hous, and introneted with the haill leiving thairof, being a slight and war¹ man, and perceaving the esteat of the Kirk deceying, and graitlie to be hated be the Court, he thought it wald nather be profitable nor sure for him to be in that place of service in the Kirk; for he haid his intelligence and collusion with the Bischope alwayes. And, therfor, whowbeit in the middes of the yeir, when all things war at the deirest, and he haid uplifted the best and surest part and peyment of the Collage leiving, yit he comes to me, and wald neides giff ower his office, and leave the halding of our hous in the Collage. This was wounderfull heavie to me, being owerburdenit with teatching and governing of the students in thair disputes, exerceises, and conversation; for the hous of the Collage annes giffen upe,² the students behoved to skatter, and all exerceis cease. Yit it pleased God to giff me a hart resolved to be doing what I could; thinking it the best, when ever the visitation of the Lord sould com, to be fund occupeit in his wark. Therfor, with the advyse of Mr Robert Bruce, wha maist lovinglie and cearfullie assisted me in all, I called the said CEconomus to his comptes, gaiff him a discharge of his intronission, sa far as he clared him be just compt, and undertuk my self the furnesing of the hous, wherunto my wyff was a right and stedable helpe, and sa put af that monethe.

This monethe of Apryll was a most anxius and perplext monethe to the Kirk and haill countrey of Scotland: Wherin about the Pasch,³ the Erles of Angus and Mar, the Maister of Glammes, accompanied with thair frinds, occupied the town and Castle of Stirveling, luiking for the concurrence of the countrey to stand be the guid cause, and repres Captan James' insolence. Bot finding could concurrence, and heiring of the King with grait forces to be merching

¹ Wary, cautious.² Being once given up.³ Easter.

from Edinbruche to Stirling, war fean to fle and eschape into Eingland. At the sam tyme, the breithring from all partes assembling to St Androis, whar the Generall Assemblie was apointed to be keipit, they fand a bosting¹ fyrie Commissionar² directed from the King, to crave a retractation of the approving of the Read of Ruthven, and a condemnator and excommunication of the Noblemen conveyned at Stirling: Bot the graitest part of the breithring departed, and sic as remeaned refused to hald an Assemblie, and sa suffered the sam to desert. I haid then bathe the confort and discomfort to haiff Mr James Lawsons to be my ghest; to haiff the man to whom, for his grait affection, I was mikle addetted, and wha was cheiff for lerning, holines, powar in doctrine, and all guid vertues amangs the haill ministerie, in my hous interteaned the best I could, it was a grait comfort and joy to me; bot to sie him in sic perplexitie, sorow, and melancholie, it wald haiff grievit the hart of anie that loved the cause of Chryst.

The King, with his forces, coming to Stirling, the town receaves him obedientlie. The Castle nocht being furnesit, was fean to rander, luiking for ther lyves, bot gat na grace. The Erle of Gowrie, apprehendit at Dondie a whyll befor, is brought to Stirling, and ther beheadit.

About the beginning of May, I was compellit throw necessitie, bathe of the furnesing of the foundat persones in the Collage, and my awin famelie, to tak jorney athort Angus and Merns, whar the Collage leiving lyes; and gather in the rent dew to the Collage. In this mean tyme, the Bischope is retourned from his embassage. A Parliament is keipit at Edinbruche, in the quhilk lawes is sett down for restraining of the frie pretching of the Word, and owerthrow of the haill establissed discipline of the Kirk; and that of speciall purpose to be snares to tak the fathfull ministers in; for, do what they could, they sould nocht eschape ather treassone against Chryst or the King: For preaching frilie the treuthe, they sould fall under

¹ Threatening. ² "My Lord Litle Justice, Mr Johne Graham." Margin of MS.

the danger of these lawes ; and keiping sylence, or pretching to the pleasour of men, they sould betrey the cause of Chryst. These lawes ar promulgat at the mercat-cross of Edinbruche, and vowes maid be Captean James, the Chancellor, and cheiff hand of that cours, that giff Mr James Lawsons's head war als grait as a hay-stak, he sould cause it lope from his hause !¹ The quhilk, when Mr James perceavit, be advys of his brethring of the Presbyterie, and of the best of his flok, and godlie barones and gentlemen about, with his brother and coleag, Mr Walter Balcanquall, withdrew him self secretlie from Edinbruche, and past in Eingland. Bot befor they past, Mr Robert Pont, accompanied with Mr Walter Balcanquall, and certean of the breithring, cam to the mercat-cros at the verie publication of the actes of parliament, and tuk publict documents, that they protested against the said actes, (sa far as twitched the Kirk,) in the nam of the Kirk of Scotland, &c.

Returning from Angus, all thir newes is tauld me, and that the bruit² was, that I was away with the rest ; whowbeit indeid, as yit it cam na wayes in my mynd to leave the Collage, bot was resolvit to be fund ther when ever it pleasit God to visit me. Sa, the Sabbathe efter my ham-coming, I went to the Kirk ; and efter noone my uncle Roger, knawing fordar nor I did, comes ower from Dondie, and finding a frind of his in St Androis, tauld him that the Bischope was coming hame with a commission to tak me ; and thairfor besought him nocht to leave me till I aggreit to go ower to Dondie with him. Sa he delt with Mr Robert Bruce and uthers my frinds, and importuned me sa, that it behoved me to go with him, as I did that night, to Dondie. The newes that comes to me the morn was, that the Bischope's men, with the Magistrats, haid bein cersing³ the Collage and my hous for me, and haid sought out all my lettrones⁴ and wryttes ;⁵ and that my dittay was allready inacted, interteining of intelligence with my uncle, the King's rebell, &c.

¹ Halse, throat or neck.² Rumour, report.Fr. *bruit*.³ Searching.⁴ Reading and writing desks. Fr. *lectron*.⁵ Papers, writings.

Sa, seiking resolution cairfullie of my God what to do, a cusing of my awin name, of his awin frie motion and accord, offerit to me, be the assistance of God, to put me saiff in Berwik within twentie-four houres be sie.¹ To this also my uncle Roger, and uther frinds, aggredit. Sa, efter consultation with my God, and finding of his warrand in my hart, I concludit to go, albeit nocht without grait tentationes² and mikle heavines; yit on the part rejoysing, that God gaiff the hart to leave native countrey, house, and sweit loving new-maried wyff, and all for the love of him and his Chryst. Thus my cusing, being a mariner, conducit a bott to carie a town of his portage wyn about to Carell, and decking me up in his sie attyre betymes in the morning, about the simmer solstice, tuk me in down under Dondie as a shipbroken sie-man; and rowing about, behoved to go to the heavin of St Androis, to lose a certean of skleatt steanes;³ and because it was law water, we behoved to ly a whyll in the road till the water grew,⁴ whare the bott wanting ane owerlaft,⁵ the seall was cassen ower hir ta end, and ther I leyed up, lest I sould be spyed of sum shipes rydding besyde. Bot within schort space, partlie be rokking in the sie, and partlie for want of eare, I grew sa extream seik, that manie a tyme I besaught my cowsing to sett me a-land; schosin rather anie sort of dethe, for a guid cause, nor sa to be tormented in a stinking holl. And yit, whowbeit it was extream peanfull, I gatt ther notable medicin of vomitine, quhilk was a preservative to my helthe all that yeir. Sa, coming hard to the steppes of the Archbischope's peire at St Androis, we lossit our skleattes,⁶ and tuk in vivers,⁷ and rowit out agean immediatlíe, and cam that night to Pitmillie-burn-mouthe, wher I gead a-land, and reposit me in my sie abbat.⁸ And efter offers of grait kyndnes be the Lard, and furnitour of a rubber of starke Merche eall,⁹ betymes in the morning we rowit out about the Nes.¹⁰ The day was hat. Ther was bot twa men in the bott, by¹¹ twa cusings of myne, with my selff. Of these twa, we haid an at our devotion; the uther was the awner

¹ By sea.² Trials.³ To deliver a cargo of slates.⁴ Till high-water.⁵ The boat having no deck or *loft*.⁶ Delivered our slates.⁷ Provisions.⁸ Sea dress.⁹ Strong March ale.¹⁰ Fife-Ness.¹¹ Besides; *forbye*.

of the bott, and verie evill-affected; bot the hat rowing, and the stope with the stark eall hard besyd him, maid him atteanes to keave ower aslipe.¹ And it pleased God to send a prettie pirhe of wound, wherby getting on a seall upon hir, or ever our schipper wakned we was a guid space besouthe the May; wha, seing he could nocht mend him selff, was fean to yeild and agrie with his merchant for a hyre to Berwik. Bot being af and on with Dumbar, about ane efter noone comes af the hilles of Lamermure-age² a grait mist, with a tempestous schoure and drow,³ quhilk, or⁴ we could gett our sealles taklit, did cast us about, and, or my cusing was awar, caried us bak almaist to the May, with sic a how wa⁵ and spene drift,⁶ that the bott being opin, he lukit for grait danger giff the stormie schoure haid continowed. Bot the young man being verie skilfull and able, starts to his kist,⁷ and tuk out a compas, and finding us contrare our course, with mikle ado, wanting helpe, and schipping of mikle water, he cust about and pykit on the wind,⁸ halding bathe the helme and scheit, susteining in the mean tyme evill langage of the schippar in stead of helpe, till it pleasit God mercifullie to luik upon us, and within an houre and an halff to dryve away the schoure and calme the drow, sa that it fell down dead calme about the sune drawing leache.⁹

To keipe the sie all night in an opin litle bott, it was dangerus, and to go to Dumbar we durst nocht; sa, of necessitie, we tuk us toward St Tab's Heid.¹⁰ Bot we haiffing but twa eares,¹¹ and the boot slaw and heavie, it was about alleavin houres of the night or we could win ther; whowbeit, na man was ydle, yea, I rowit my selff, till the hyd¹² cam af my fingars, mair acquainted with the pen nor working on an are.¹³ Coming under the crag, we rowit in within a prettie lytle holl betwix the mean and the head,¹⁴ whare easelie going a-land, we refreschit us with cauld water and wyne; and re-

¹ To fall over asleep.² Edge.³ Sudden squall.⁴ Before, ere.⁵ Literally hollow wave or billow; sea running high.⁶ Spray violently driven by the wind.⁷ Sea-chest.⁸ Tacked and sailed near the wind.⁹ Drawing

low; sunset.

¹⁰ St Abb's Head.¹¹ Oars.¹² Skin.¹³ Than

pulling an oar.

¹⁴ Betwixt the mainland and St Abb's Head.

turning to our boot, sleipit the dead of the night, bot neidit nan to wakin us, for soon, be the day-light piped,¹ ther was sic a noyse of foulles on the crag, and about us, because of thair young annes, that we war almaist pressed to lainche out. Now we haid Cawdingham bay and Hay-mouth to pas by, and that but slawly, rowing be the land, whar the residence of Alexander Home of Manderston, an of our cheiff confederat enemies, and wha haid intercepted a boot of the Earle of Angus coming about from Tamtallon to Berwik nocht lang befor. This put us in grait feir; but our guid God gardit us, making a sweik thik mist till aryse, wherby we might bot skarslie gis² at the sight of the land; and thairfra nane could sie us. Sa we cam on hulie and fear till we wan within the bounds of Berwik, whar we was in graittest danger of all, unbesett³ in the mist be twa or thrie of the cobles of Berwik, quhilk war sa swift in rowing, that they ged round about us; bot we being fyve within burd, and haiffing twa pistolets, with thrie swords, and they na armour, they war fean to let us be, namlie, when they understud that we was making for Berwik.

Thus gratuslie protected be my guid God, I cam to Berwik, whar I fand Mr James Lawsons and Mr Walter Balcanquall, my uncle, Mr Andro, with Patrik Forbes, appeirand of Cors, and sum uther gentlemen, but twa dayes befor entred in their jorney southe ower.⁴ And Mr James, with his colleg, war evin upon thair voyage to follow, as they did within thrie or four dayes, acquenting me with thair frinds, and leaving me in thair rowm to pretche in the Kirk, as I was desyrit.

Being in Berwik, I rememberit the sweit tender-harted young las that I haid maried; and thinking our burding was nocht yit grait, nather knew I that sche was with chyld, I resolved with my God to send for hir, and tak sic part togidder as it sould pleis his guidnes to bestow. And sa, satisfeing the botmen to thair contentment, I send bak with tham my cusing, Mr Alexander Scrym-

¹ Peeped, dawned.² Guess.³ Surrounded and attacked.⁴ Southward.

geour, (being then bot a schollar, and now a man of guid giftes and estimation in the ministerie,) with a letter to my wyff, wha, casting all things asyde, cam to me with diligence, be the conduct of a servant of the Einglis Ambassatour, lying in Edinbruche for the tyme; and tuk part with me during all my sojourning in Eingland, to my grait confort. My cowsing, James Melvill, returned nocht bak to Scotland, bot tareid in Eingland, and occupied his calling ther all the tyme of our exyll. I taried at Berwik about a monethe, and teatched twyse everie ouk,¹ wherby I gat verie grait friendschipe, namlie, of a maist curteus and godlie lady, my Lady Widdrington, spouse to Sir Harrie Widdrington, Knight, and Maister Governour of the town, under my Lord of Houndesdean, wha defreyed me of all my charges during the tyme I was ther, and offerit me ten crownes of gold at my parting; bot I haid na neid of tham, and therfor refusit tham thankfullie. I haid also offered me, be divers guid men and weimen of the town, bot haiffing of the bountiful liberalitie of my God aneuche brought with my wyff, I wald nocht incur anie liklihead² of a mercenar; bot trewlie I fand sic sectfull professioun of trew Christianitie in Berwik, as I haid never sein the lyk in Scotland.

Efter rype and lang advysment with my God, I resolved to tak jorney suthe ower,³ and as God sould call me to anie condition to teache a scholl, and therwithe keipe the mouthe quhilk he haid opened, in catecheising and pretching of Chryst occupied, till these afflictiones war past in Scotland, quhilk I luiked nocht, indeid, sould haiff bein quarter sa schort as they war.

In the mean tyme, the Erles of Angus and Mar, lyand at Newcastle, wryttes for me ans, and the second tyme verie instantlie, to com and pretche the Word unto tham for ther comfort. To whom I answerit I could nocht, because I was nocht entered in the ministerie; nather was I of anie experience of knowlage in thir maters, being but a young man brought upe in the scholles, and thairfor haid resolved to keipe my awin calling. The treuthe was also, that my

¹ Preached twice every week.² Suspicion.³ Southward.

hart abhorrit and fearit to haiff to do with thame, being the King's rebelles, and nocht knowing ther cause weill, and disposition of ther hart.

Yit I could nocht bot visit tham in my journey at Newcastle, whar I purposed to tak schipping southwart to Londone. Sa, parting from Berwik, hartlie recommendit to the blessing and grace of God, be manie godlie men and women, and be sum sett and convoyet a guid way on our journey, we cam that night to Anweik, and ludgit in the house of a weidow, whose sone-in-law, guidman of the hous, was lyand seik of manie deadlie wounds, giffen him be the Scottes theives on the Bordar : And yit we receavit never an evill countenance of tham, bot be the contrar war verie weill treated, and reasonable, and at our departing, gat bathe from the auld woman and hir douchtar manie blessings.

Coming the nixt night to Newcastle, we resolvit on the morn incontinent to seik for shipping, and na wayes made anie lang taring, a piece of dewtie annes dischargit to the Noble-men. Bot Mr Jhone Davidstone, being ther with the Lords, informes me sa in all maters, yea, and being my Maister in St Androis, and a man of authoritie in the Word and Spreit of God, and namlie schawing me it was nocht his judgment onlie, but of the hail breithring that haid past by, that I sould abyde with the Noble-men, exerceising tham in the Word of God, till that ather they all, or sum of tham at least, sould returne bak againe, brakes me from my purpose and resolution, that, at the earnest delling of the Lords, and cleiring of thair cause, purpose, and conscience unto me for that effect, I yeildit till abyde with tham.

Thus, finding the warrand of God sattelit in my hart, efter divers dayes deliberation and earnest prayer, I followed the sam. And soone efter Mr Jhone Davidstone's passing away, wha haid bein detained be tham onlie to abyde my coming and enter me, thinking it best to sett down the ordour meit to be keipit amangs tham at the beginning, I put the sam in wryt with ane exhortation, direction, and fathfull warning prefixed, as followes :

"TO THE RIGHT GODLIE, ZEALUS, AND NOBLE, MY LORDS OF
ANGUSS AND MARRE, THE MASTER OF GLAMMES, AND OTHER
NOBLE AND GENTLE MEN IN COMPANIE WITH THAM AT THIS
PRESENT IN NEWCASTLE, IN EINGLAND, YOUR HONORS MOST
HUMBLE MINISTERS AND SERVANTS IN THE LORD, WISHETH GRACE
AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER, AND FROM THE LORD JESUS
CHRYST.

"Forsamikle as at the earnest desyre of your godlie and noble
honors, and the apointment of the rest of our breithring, confirming
that inwart calling whilk we haiff of God in our harts, we ar placed
heir to serve your Lordschips and your companie in the ministerie
of the Word of God in a tym sa necessar: Lyk as, in maist tender
love and affection we cease nocht in our exhortationes to put yow
in mynd of all things, according as the occasion of the portion of
Scripture intreated offers; sa we haiff thought it expedient, for the
mair fathfull discharging of our dewtie and conscience befor God
and his Kirk, schortlie in wryt to call to your continual remem-
berance some speciall things, the diligent consideration and often
meditating wharof may serve graitle to the furtherance of the wark
of God put in your weak hands.

"It behoved us first, in verie deid, till acknowlage in our con-
sciences, and confes, as the treuthe is, that the Lord has maist
justlie, and yit in grait mercie, corrected us, nocht onlie for uther
our manifald sinnes and offences, be the quhilk we haiff strayed
away from him, to bring us ham again be his rod of humiliation, to
the fauld and obedience of that guid Pastor of our saulles, the Lord
Jesus, thairby making us to feill and perceave, in experience, the
fatherlie cear quhilk he hathe of us, in chasteising us as his awin
deire childring, but also, and maist speciallie at this tyme, for over
lightlie regarding, and negligentlie using, the occasiones offered, of
performing the guid wark of the Lord, quhilk we haid in our hands.
For nather at that tyme, as becam us uprightlie, was the glorie of

God sought, nather yit afauldlie¹ and ardentlie was procured the preservation, advancement, and further establisment of his Kirk, the kingdome of his Sone Chryst Jesus, sa notablie of his grait mercie planted within our countrey, but then as now brought in extream danger, be craftie and wicked Papiasts: Nather was the King's persone and esteat diligentlie gardit from pernitiis flatterars, carnall Atheistes, seditiis and bludie idolaters, licentius libertines, filthie harlotes, hellishe witches, and sic uther divelishe counsallours, as ceased nocht to nurishe and steir upe the poisons quhilk they had instilled in his young and tender breist: Nather was ther maid anie redres of the innumerable abbusses and misordours croppen² in within the body of our miserable comoun-welthe. But, contrarie wayes, sum haiffing na thing bot the Word of God's glorie in thair mouthe, laked all love and desyre thair of in the hart; the quhilk appeired plainlie in thair warks and proceedings, to the dishonour of God, and sklander of his guid cause: Sum thought it a small mater to flatter the King in all his conceattes and affectiones, and mak his eares patent to sic wha³ could alienat his mynd from the guid cause and instruments thair of, and hald his hart and favour bund and bent to the former faction of the enemies, and thair ungodlie courses: Some regairding nought at all bot thair awin standing and guid esteat warldlie, as thought thair haid beine na thing in hand but a comoun alteration and change of Court, played prettelie the part of Jak on bathe the sydes. The compleants, greiffes, and petitiones of the Kirk was hard, but with deaff eares, and luiked on with winking eis, in sic sort, that the King now triumphes in that point, affirming with manie attestationes and aithes, that never annes was movit to him be the Nobilitie a word of the Kirk's effeares. Na remors nor redres for sacrilage, wherwithe the graittest part was defylit; no provision for the ministerie, scholles, and pure; no ministration of justice, nor punishment for maist odious and horrible crymes, quhilk aboundit in everie quarter of the coun-

¹ Sincerely, uprightly; literally one-fold.² Crept.³ Such as.

trey ; and, fynalie, all was said to haiff sought thair awin particulars,¹ because na better appeired in deid.

“ And yit, nochtwithstanding thir our grait sinnes, quhilk, gif God wald enter in judgment to punishe, might deserve a thowsand fauld mair nor he hes yit leyde on us, yea, the verie helles-fyre, we may be weill assured, if we be rightlie humblit and unfeindlie turned to him with all our harts, with deliberat, ardent myndes and willes, to travell till amend all thir misses,² in cais God again ans in his mercie sall offer the occasion, that of his superabundant grace washing away all our iniquities in the blood of his Sone Chryst Jesus, he will, for the glorie of his awin name, and that compassion quhilk he hes ever haid of his awin deir childring, luik upon the oppression of his awin Kirk, and the miserie of that pure afflicted nation and realme.

“ For treuthe it is, when we luik at our awin deserving, we can find na thing but mater of mere desperation. But I pray yow, what hes the glorie of the Lord deservit, that is trode under fute be these wicked instruments of Sathan, wha, without all scham and feir of God's judgments, hes bein sa bauld as to place a vanishing sched-dow, a breathe going and nocht retourning again, with absolut powar and authoritie in the roum and seatt of the Most Hie God ? What hes the kingdome of the Lord Jesus, and libertie thair of, merited, the quhilk by vyle dogs turning to thair vomit, and filthie swyne waltring in the foull pudle of thair abominable vyces and corruptiones, is polluted, defylit, and led schamfullie captive to the slaverie of the corrupt and cancered affectionnes of profean Jero-boams, that hes gean about with knowladge against conscience to force the trew worschipping of God, sett down and established with all friedome, liberties, and priviledges of the Word, in his awin sanctuarie at Jerusalem, as a captive slave to serve to sic a perniti-
us kynd of government as thair undantoned breanes and unbrydelit affectionnes hes against all pietie, justice, and honestie, blasphemuslie forget and impudentlie obtrudit to God, and the King's

¹ Their own interest.

² To travail to amend all these omissions.

fathfull and obedient subjects? Wha hes pulled away the ordinarie sacrifices of contreit and brokin harts for repentance, the peace-offerings for remission of sinnes and reconciliation, and oblation of the calves of the lippes for joy of conscience and thanksgiffing of the peiple of God, from Chryst Jesus, the holie altar of the Lord placed in the middes of his Kirk, as in Mont Sion; and hes tyed the sam to thair newlie erected goldin calfes and abominationnes of Bischopes' seattes, and residence of Court, as in Dan and Bethell? Wha hathe ruggit¹ away, but² reasone or reasoning, the administration and government of the Lord's tempell from his lawfullie called Ministers, Doctores, Eldars, and Deacones, to the quihilks onlie, be the Word of God, it is giffen as to his schosine Levittes, and anointed Preists of the childring of Aaron, and be plan law hes applyed the sam to thair belli-godes,³ fals.preists of Baal, maist infamus amangs the peiple, theiffs, drunkards, gluttones, whure and witch mungars, perjurit, sacrilegius, deboushit⁴ persones, to mean holiglasses,⁵ comoun trickers and deceavers; and, finalie, men shamles, and maist sklanderus in all thair lyff and doings? And all because, say they, with Jeroboam, the sone of Nebat, wha maid Israell to sin, utherwayes our kingdome can nocht stand; our course can nocht go fordwart, for the peiple will go to Jerusalem; they will adheire to the hous of David; they wilbe instructed be the Priests of the leiving God, wha can nocht comport with our doing.

"They haiff pulled the Croun of Royall Authoritie within the Spirituall kingdome, and thrawin⁶ the sword of the Word of God, and schepter of ecclesiasticall government, af the head and from the hands of Chryst Jesus, the onlie Head and King of his Kirk:

¹ Torn.² Without.³ Belly-gods.⁴ Debauched, worthless.

⁵ Holieglass, or Howleglass, was a popular hero who figured in the poetic fictions and dramas of England as well as Scotland in the sixteenth century. As applied by one of the *Maharis*, Sempill, the Scotish Poet, in his "Legend of the Bishop of St Androis," (Adamson,) he appeared to be adopted in these fictions as the personification of a cunning, deceitful, and scheming character—for Sempill there alternates Holieglass with "*Lowrie*," "*lurcan* (lurking) *Lowrie*," and "*deceatfull Lowrie*," in allusion to the well-known characteristics of the fox, who is still popularly known as "*Tod Lowrie*" in Scotland.

⁶ Wrested, wrung.

And sa, with open sound of trumpet, casting down, sa far as in tham lay, the eternall Sone of God, King immortall of heavinlie glorie, from his throne, wherout of he rewlethe his Kirk, hes placed in his steade a chyld of corrupt Adam, even an erthlie mortall creatoure: They haiff followed the fulishe exemple of Achaz, the King of Juda, and Uria the preist, in removing of the brasen alter of the Lord, and placing in the roun thair of an uther, according to the form of the altar of Damascus: They haiff followed the pervers dealling of the cursed apostat Julian against the Kirk of Chryst, in taking away the leivings from the Ministers, to destroy tham be houn gar, (mair crewelly nor Dioclecian, wha cust the Christianes to wyld beastes!) and making waste and desolat the schoolles of Divinitie, and all holie erudition: They haiff said, with the fey¹ and desperat Jewes, to the Siers, 'Sie nocht;' and to the Prophets, 'Prophesie na langer to us in the nam of the Lord, but speak unto us pleasand things according to our lyking!' And, whilles the fathfull servantes of the Lord, in love of ther amendiment and fervent zeall of the glorie of God, discharged frilie thair commissiones, received of the Lord unto tham, they haiff forced tham, for feir of thair lyves, to flie and abandone thair native countrey, with crewall Jezabell; cust tham in pressone, with wicked Achab; and thretned tham with death, as did foolishe Amazia, when the Lord haid taken counsall to destroy him: They haiff plucked the keyes of the kingdom of Heavin from the trew Apostles of Chryst, and giffen tham to the wicked Pharisies, his enemies, wha nather will enter in tham selves, nor suffer uthers till enter: And, finalie, they haiff cast down the dyk, cutted the hedge, demolished the towre, brokin the wynepres, banished the watchmen and laborars, the snedders and delvers² of the wyne-yearde of the Lord, to mak it to be tramped under futt of wyld Atheists, yea, an opin prey to the bloodie and creuall locusts of the botomles pit.

"Can the Lord suffer these things lang, and be just in executing of his judgments, and puring out of his plages upon his cursed ene-

¹ Fated, infatuated.

² Pruners or vine-dressers, and diggers.

mies? Can the Lord suffer his sanctuarie to be defylit, and his awin to smart, and be the Father of mercies, God of consolation, and maist fathfull keipar of his promises? Can the Lord suffer his glorie to be giffen to an uther? Can He, wha haith promised to mak the enemies of Chryst Jesus his futstool, suffer tham to tread on his head?

“Na, na! right honourable and deir breithring, he hes anointed him King on his holie montean; he hes giffen him all nationes for an inheritance; he hes put in his hand a schepter of yron, to bruse in pouder these erthen veshalles. When his wrothe sall annes begin to kendle bot a lytle, he sall mak it notoriuslie knawin till all the warld, that they onlie ar happie wha in humilitie kisses the Lord Jesus, and trusts in him. Now, thairfor, seing the Lord hes maid your lordschipes to haiff these places and rowmes be birthe within your native countrey, wherthrow it lyes on your shoulders, of special dewtie, wherof ye sall giff a compt to God, to procure and seik to the uttermaist of your powar the releiff, delyverance, and weil of your naturall nation and Prince, lying this day in sa pitius estate of captivitie: And seing, in lyk maner, it hes pleased the Lord of his guidnes to call yow to be his gude instruments in this maist acceptable wark of vindicating of his glorie defaced, and delyverie of his Kirk, brought in sa miserable boundage, as also of the reclaiming of your native King from sa dangerus a companie and course; and seing yow haiff also, ance or twyse, employed your selff in the cause, but for the just reasones befor rehersed, and multitud of our secret sinnes, wherwith the Lord hathe bein hilie offendit, it hes nocht as yit haid an expected succes, and yit, as becomes valiant warriours and capteanes of the Lord's armie, ar nocht discouragit, but purposes, efter trew humiliation and assurance of God's mercie and favour, to go fordwart, we, your Ministers, in the feir and nam of the Lord our God, and in love and reverence of your honours, desyre thir presentes to be a witnes and testimonie befor God and his Kirk, of the fathfull discharge of our conscience and dewtie towards yow, exhorting yow maist earnestlie, by the Lord our God, and his Sone Chryst Jesus, that withe trew repentance, unfeinyt humilia-

tion, reformation of lyff and maners, instruction and wesdome of the Buik of God, ardent prayer and meditation; fervent love and zeall toward God, his Kirk, and your King, yie sall fraclie¹ and curagiuslie to the wark of God, and, following furthe the sam directlie, uprightlie, fathfullie, constantlie, and with all cair and diligence, fearing alwayes that wa,² quhilk the Profit pronounces against sic as does the wark of the Lord negligentlie and deceitfullie, yow may yit hope for a happie succes of the mercie and blessing of God, for his awin glorie and name's sak. Yie sie the enemies never ceases to devyse, deliberat, reasone, tak counsell, and put in execution thair malice and creweltie against the Kirk of God, his treuthe and professours thair of; whow graitlie then sould we be eschamed to be found slipperie and slaw in the guid cause of our Chryst!

"Bot this a thing, in speciall, we man denunce unto yow, taking God, his Kirk, and your selves to record, that we forwarn yow, fathfullie, and in tyme, That in cais (as God forbid!) yie ga to this wark againe, moved cheifly with your awin particulars, as vengeance on your enemies, and to be restored to sic honours, rowmes, possessionnes, and commodities, quhilk yie injoyed of befor, making God's glorie, the cause of his Kirk, of your King and Comoun-weill, to be bot pretences and skugges,³ and as bot slaves and gudiates serving thairunto, ather the Lord sall curse the wark in your wicked hands, and mak it turn to your graitter schame and disadvantage then of befor, or, in ceas for his awin name's seak, he work the wark of his glorie in mercie for delyverance of his Kirk, (as he is accustomed to do with maist roustie and creuked instruments and dellings,) yit will he nocht feall in his justice to reward yow with the corrupt and hypocriticall workers of iniquitie, at sic tyme thairefter as he thinks convenient. But in cease, (as we hope weill, and calles to God maist ardentlie that sa may be,) efter trew repentance and effectuell reformation of your selffs and companies, yie go to wark, setting directlie befor your eis the honour and glorie of God, acord-

¹ Freely, heartily.² Woe.³ Shelters, stalking-horses.

ing to his will, framing your willes and affectiones unto the sam ; and sa uprightlie, trewlie, and zealouslie, be all guid meanes and wayes seik God to be glorified, his Kirk to be delyverit, reformed, and surlie establissed, your tender King, and sweit native countrey, to be redde from the abbusars and misrewlares of the sam ; and mak your awin particulars to follow efter, as the servant and sheddow, and nocht go befor as the maister and body, and be maist willing and earnest to schaw the sam, in effect when God sall offer the occasion : And, finalie, if yie go to with upright, deliberat mynds, and bent willes, till amend all things neglected of befor, then we dar be bauld, be the warrand of the Word of God, till assure yow of the presence and blessing of God to be withe yow, and undoutedlie to perform the wark in your hands, whow weak that ever they be ; and whow manie, craftie, and puissant so ever they be that geanstands the sam, to his awin glorie, the grait comfort of his Kirk, and your honour and weifear, nocht onlie temporall, but perpetuall and everlasting.

“ And to that intent, that maters may this wayes happellie proceid, we ar, in conclusion, maist earnestlie and lovinglie, in the bowelles of Chryst Jesus, to exhort you and all your companie, that, in the mean tym, whill as occasion of bodelie exercise in the mater is nocht yit offered, that yie giff your selves diligentlie and ferventlie to spirituall exerceis, in heiring, reiding, and meditating continowalie of the Word of God, wherby yie may be moved to unfeinyed repentance, trew humiliation, amendiment of lyff, and devot and ardent prayer to the Lord, for his grace, mercie, and favour, and for the working of his powerfull Spreit in yow, yie may, out of the Word of God, as out of the fontean and threassor of all wesdome, draw out sic store and abundance of all guid knowlage, wesdome, and wholsome counsall, as may direct yow alwayes aright ; and wharby yie may find strenthe, courage, confort, patience, hope, and perseverance in all your battels, bathe within and without, to the end, and assurit victorie and glorie in the end.

“ For the quhilk cause, we haiff sett down to your lordschips and companie the Order, bathe of Doctrin and Discipline, quhilk aucht

to be observit in effect in all the companies and fellowshippes of the fathfull, but speciallie with all reverence and cair be us now in this present estate, wharby we our selves may be inarmed, prepared, and maid fitt in all things for the wark of God, the enemies heiring of it, discouragit, and sic as loved God and his guid cause provocked be our exemple, be moved to praise God, and baldlie joyne them selves with us, being persuadit that we seik unfeinedlie the Lord.

“The leiving God of heavin and erthe, in the tender love and mercies of his Sone Chryst Jesus, mak his guid Spreit to dwell sa plentiouslie in your noble harts, that yie may be fund worthie and notable instruments of His glorie, bathe in this and all uther guid warks of the Lord God ; and that nocht onlie at this tyme, but enduring the haill course and tyme of your lyves, that efter all the battels of this present miserie, yie may enjoy with Him that everlasting croun of glorie, quhilk he hes leyde up in store for all his fathfull servands and valiant warriours. AMEN.

“At Newcastle, the 2d of August, 1584.”

The Ordor and Maner of Exerceise of the Word for Instruction, and Discipline for Correction of Maners, used in the Companie of those Godlie and Noble Men of Scotland, in tyme of thair aboad in Englande, for the guid cause of God's Kirk, thair King and Countrey.

“FIRST, Ther shalbe four Sermones in the ouk ; twa on the Son-day, and twa on the ouk-dayes ; ane befor noone, and an uther efter, on the Sabothe ; and, on the ouk-dayes, an on Wednesday, and an uther on Fredday.

“The Sermont on the Sabbathe sall begin at halff houre befor ten, and continow whill efter alleavin, sa that the haill exerceive sall nocht pas the space of ane houre and a halff ; and efter noone it sall begin at halff houre to four, and end befor fyve.

“The Sermones on the ouk-dayes sall begin at ten houres, and be endit be alleavin ; sa that the haill exerceive pas nocht the space of an houre.

"Ther salbe daylie Comoun Prayers twyse everie day, befor noone at ten houres, and efter at foure, at quhilk tyme a Psalme salbe read and handlit, sa that the soum thairof be schortlie gathered, the partes sett down in ordour, and some schort notes of doctrine, with exhortation; bot in sic schortnes, that the hail tyme occupied exceid nocht the space of an halff houre.

"Ther salbe at everie meall, immediatlie efter thankgiffing at denner and supper, a Chapter read of the historie of the Bible, and handlit schortlie as tyme and occasion sall requyre; and thereafter a Psalme, or reasonable section thairof, being lang, salbe song.

"Ther salbe a ouk in the monethe dedicat till Abstinence and Publiet Humiliation, spent in prayer, doctrine, meditation, with sic modest, temperat, and humble behaviour as effeires; the ordor wharof salbe observit according to the prescript of The Buik of Fast and Publiet Humiliation used in the Kirk of Scotland; wherof the present causses salbe the miserable esteat of our Kirk and countrey of Scotland, and, amangs the rest, of the Kirks in Europe, of France, and Flanders.

"At the quhilk tyme, upon the last Sabbathe of the ouk immediatlie following the exerceise of fasting, the Super of the Lord salbe ministrat, efter that just tryell and examination haid passed befor.

"On the Setterday, at the houre of evening prayer, or the Sabbathe, at efter noon, or bathe, salbe a Lecture, or plean leasone in the Catechisme, and principall grounds of Christian Relligion.

"The Ministers, according as they sall agrie amang tham selves, sall haiff there ordinarie Texts out of the cheiff partes of the Scripture; som of the Law, sum of the Prophetes, some of the Evangelists and Actes of the Apostles, and some of the Epistles and Revelation. And the ordinar exerceise at prayers and mealles salbe in the Psalmes, Salomone's Warks, and Historie of the Auld Testament.

"Everie an in special is earnestlie exhorted to his privat exerceise of fervent prayer, reiding, and meditation of things hard and read, that therby he may be steired upe to grow, day by day, mair and mair zealus and devot in spreit, familiar with his God, armed with

spirituall armour against all adversitie, and diligentlie moved to practise of doctrine in a godlie lyff and halie conversation.

“ And this mikle for the exerceis of doctrin and prayer ; for the quhilk it is necessar that everie an, that can reid, haiff a Byble and Psalme Buik.

Off Discipline.

“ Ther salbe a day in the ouk, Tuesday or Furisday,¹ a Convention of sic as salbe chosin Eldars and Deacones, for ordering of all things pertaining to the comlie maner of all exerceises of the Kirk, and all uther things necessar to a holie Christian Congregation. And namlie, to watche ower the maners of tham selves and the rest, and spy out the fructes of the Word in all behaviour ; and giff anie opin vyces or sklanders falles out in the persones of anie man, to bring that person to repentance and redres, and remove the sklander from the companie ; as also to haiff a cair of the seik and diseased, pure and indigent.

“ Ther salbe then sax Eldars chosin, and ordourlie callit to that office, quhilk consistes specialie in censuring and owerseing of maners, and rebuking in privat of all sic as behaves tham selves in speaking, doing, gestoure, or uther wayes, then it becomes holie and fathfull Christianes. And in ceas of na amendiment, efter twa or thrie admonitionnes, or publict offence or sklander insewing, to de-leat them to the Assemblie or Session, wherby they may be brought to repentance, and mak publict satisfaction.

“ Ther salbe twa Deacones : an till attend² upon the box, that sall stand on the table at everie meall, to collect and distribut to the outward pure³ that ar nocht of our number ; ane uther to haiff the cair of our awin inward indigent or diseased, to recommend tham to the Session for prayer, or collection to be maid for releiff of thair necessitie.

“ Giff in the audience of an Eldar, ather at meat, play, or els-

¹ Tuesday or Thursday.

² One to wait. .

³ Poor.

whare, a gentilman sall nam the devil, banning,¹ pronounce an athe,² filthe talk, or anie evill-favoured spetche, the Eldar sall cause him pay to the box ; and in cais of disobedience, dealeat him to the Session. And giff a fallow or lad³ be fund with sic speiches as said is, or anie wayes making noyse or molestation, the Eldar sall ather correct him presentlie, or dealeat him to his maister ; wha, giff he correct him nocht convenientlie to his fault, he salbe censured be the Session.

“ All, bathe maister, servant, and boy, salbe present at all the exerceises of the Word and Prayer, except sic as salbe occupied efter meals, absent from Chapter and Psalme ; and the Eldars ouk-lie, thair tyme about, with ane of the Ministers, salbe speciall inspectors and notars of the absents, wha salbe for the first fault caused pay to the box sax pence ; for the second, a schilling ; and for the thrid, sumoned befor the Session, and causit mak publict repentance.

“ Iff an haiff a necessar earand to do, wherby it behovethe him to be absent, let him advertise ane of the Ministers or Eldars, and he salbe excusit.

“ The Ministers, Eldars, and Deacones, shall haiff in wryt the names of all the companie, an and uther, for the effect forsaide.

“ The rest, referring to farther deliberation, and to be concludit and set down be comoun advyse, as tyme and occasion sall minister mater.

“ FINIS.”

This Exhortation, Warning, and Direction, with the Ordour of Exerceise of Doctrine, Prayer, and Discipline, being presented to the Noble men, they accepted verie weill thair of, and gaiff me grait

¹ Cursing.

² Oath.

³ A serving-man or boy.

thankes ; and causing it to be notified to all thair companie, they submitted them selves hartlie to the Ordour, humbly embracing the admonition and direction. And sa, making chose¹ of our Eldars and Deacones, we constitut² a Session, the Noble men tham selves being magistrats and civill rewlars, everie an of ther awin companie, and togidder of the haill. And about the beginning of August, 1584, we entered to the practise and keiping of the Ordor, wherin we continued, by the grait grace of our mercifull God, during the haill tyme of our sojourning in Eingland, with sic fruit of spirituall instruction, confort, and joy, as bathe grait and small thought it the happiest tyme that ever they spent in all thair lyff. Gud, godlie, wyse, and stout Archbald, Erle of Angus, hes oft tymes said to me, "Before my God, Mr James, giff³ the conscience of the guid cause we haiff in hand moved me nocht, and giff I haid bot sa mikle of my awin leiving as might bot in this maner sustein us, I wald be hartlie content to spend all my lyff in this esteat and forme!"

This noble man was fellow weill myndit,⁴ godlie, devot, wyse, and grave; and by and besyde⁵ thir comoun exerceises, was giffen to reiding, and privat prayer and meditation, and ordinarlie efter dinner and super, haid an houres, and sum tyme mair nor twa houres, conference with me about all maters; namlie, concerning our Kirk and Comoun-weill, what war the abbusses thair of, and whow they might be amendit. Wherof he was sa cairfull, that he causit me sett tham down in wryt, and present tham to him, being in companie with the rest; quhilk, when he haid red him selff and conferit thairon with tham, he causit wryt a copie in guid wrait, quhilk he put in a litle coffer, wharin his speciall wreittes and lettres war caried about with him selff continualie, that he might haiff tham in memorie, and as occasion servit, confer and reasone thairon with his consortes: The quhilk, also, I thought nocht amiss heir to insert.

¹ Choice.
affected.

² Constituted.
⁵ Over and above.

³ If.

⁴ Very well-minded, or well-

CERTEAN GRAIT ABBUSSES AND CORRUPTIONS IN THE KIRK AND COMOUN-WEILL OF SCOTLAND, QUHILK PARTLIE THE LEAT MISREWLAERS HES BROUGHT IN, PARTLIE AS THE HIE PLACES IN JUDA HES REMEANED UNREFORMED UNTO THIS DAY, GIFFEN UPE TO THE NOBLE-MEN EXYLED IN EINGLAND TO WEY AND CONSIDDER, THAT THEY MIGHT BE REPENTED FOR THAIR PART, AND INDEVORIT TO REDRESS, WHEN IT SOULD PLEASE GOD TO GRANT ABILITIE AND OCCASION.

AT NEWCASTELL, 10 AUGUST 1584.

PSALME LXXXI.

HEAR, O my peiple, and I will witnes unto thie : O Israel, if thow will harken unto my voice ; if ther sall nocht be anie strange god amang yow ; or sall nocht worschipe anie uther god.

I am the Lord thy God, wha brought thie out of the land of Egypt : Open thy mouthe wyd, and I sall fill it.

But my peiple wald nocht heir my voice ; and Israell wald nocht obey me.

Wharfor I gave them ower unto thair awin harts' lust, and lut them follow thair imaginations.

O that my peiple wald haiff harkned unto me, if Israell wald have walked in my wayes !

I sould soone put down thair enemies, and turn my hand against thair adversaries. The haters of the Lord should willinglie haiff yeildit unto him ; and the guid esteat of my peiple sould haiff indurit for ever.

I sould haiff fead tham also with the fynnest whit floure, and with the stonie rok's honie sould I haiff filled thie. ¹

"JESUS CRYST, the onlie King of his Kirk, withe the libertie and friedome of his spirituall kingdome in preatching of the Word, and exerceising of Discipline, is brought latlie in maist abominable slaverye to the corrupt affectiones of fleche and blude.

"For, whar as Chryst aucht onlie ² to command and bear rewill in the Kirk be his Word and Spreit, and be the ministerie of his lawfullie called officiars and servants, to whom he hes concredit ³ the dispensation of his heavinlie mysteries, the gydding ⁴ and feiding of

¹ Psalm lxxxi, 8-16.

² Ought alone.

³ Entrusted.

⁴ Guiding.

his lambes, with the keyes of the kingdom of heavine, of binding and lowsing, the King takes upon him to rewill and command alaweill in Chryst's Spirituall kingdome as in his awin Civill, quhilk is maist sacrilegius, and war nor¹ Papisticall; and hes apointed, not servands, but under-lords and commanders, whase autoritie and powar flowes nocht from Chryst or his Kirk, but from the King, (as the Bull giffen to the Bischope of St Androis planlie testifies,) and wha nocht onlie ar maist sklanderus persones them selves, bot also whase office hes na thing at all to do with the Scriptures of God, bot mere Anti-Christian, to tyrannise over the Lord's inheritance, and vex the bodies and consciences of Chryst's flok. And that quhilk is maist dangerus, and almaist desperat, this feirfull and horrible spoliation of Chryst Jesus, and tyrannie over his Kirk, is maid and confirmed be plan lawes in Parliament.

"Heirby is the libertie of God's Sprit bund in the mouthes of the preachours, the gift and fredom of cutting and devyding of the Word aright, and applying till everie an thair part, as they haiff neid, without spearing² of the graittest because of graittest neid, sa mikle commendit in the Storie and Wryttings of the Apostles, restranit and opprest; the reanes of Discipline, Excommunication, with all the spirituall censours and correctiones of the Kirk, Election, Ordination, Deprivation of Ministers, apointing of Assemblies, and giffing of warning to the peiple to eschew plages be fasting and prayer, togidder with the haill government of the Hous of God, ar put in the hands of the Court and thair corrupt Bischopes, the quhilk of all uther hes maist neid of discipline; wha, for thair odious crymes, ar maist subject till excommunication and censurs of the Kirk; wha hes nather skill nor will to elect guid and qualifiet Pastors; wha ar readier and mair willing to deprive and put away the fathfull and edificative nor the mercenar and sklanderus; wha, sleiping in thair sinnes, hes nocht wacryff eis³ to sie the plag coming, and thairfor caires nocht for fasting and prayer; and, finalie, wha being the cheiff corruptars and deformers of the Kirk, can

¹ Worse than.² Inquiring.³ Wakeful or vigilant eyes.

nocht suffer frie Assemblies to be haid for reformation and ordouring thair of. The rentes and revenues of the Kirk, the bread of the ministerie, scholles, and pure, is giffen to dogs and swyne, to the graittest contemners, vexars, and oppressars thair of; and, in a word, the hous of God is maid a den of theives, and the flockes of Chryst committed to hyrlings, whom the forsaid wolffs hes at thair devotion.

"The haill body of the nation, and namlie the graittest members thair of, wha sould be gydders and guid exemples to uthers, ar defylit with sacrilage, swearing, blasphemie, blud, adulteries, reaf and oppression, &c., sa that na mervell it is tho the fleing buik of God's judgments enter in thair housses, and consume timber with stean.

"Lawes nather throwlie weill maid for punishment of sic hynous crymes, and manie [lawes] weill maid wantes execution, lyk athercape wobbes¹ that taks the sillie flies, bot the bumbarts braks throw tham!²

"Be the insatiable sacrilegious avarice of Erles, Lords, and Gentlemen, the Kirk, Scholles, and Pure, ar spulyied³ of that quhilk sould sustein tham. The materiall Kirks lyes lyk sheipe and nout faulds⁴ rather then places of Christian congregations to assemble into. The parochinars⁵ will haiff a couple of skores of hirdes for thair cattell, bot skarse a⁶ Pastor to feid thrie thowsand of thair saulles. Wharof cumes feirfull darknes of ignorance, superstition, and idolatrie, with innumerable filthie and execrable sinnes, quhilk procures God's just advengance upon the haill land.

"The small number that is of the Ministerie can haiff na cer-teantie of the pure stipend assignet unto tham, but yeirlie it man⁷ be cast in the Lord Modifier's hands, and of new schapin and assigned ower again, to sie whow mikle may be win in to the Collec-tor. Of this comes that sic wha hes court and credit, and awaites thairon, gets weill mikle, namlie giff they can comport and flatter uthers; and the best gets nocht for thair necessitie.

¹ Spiders' webs. ² Catch the weak flies, but the large blue-bottle flies break through them. ³ Spoiled, robbed. ⁴ Lie like sheep and cattle folds. ⁵ The parishioners will have a couple of score of herds. ⁶ Scarcely one. ⁷ Must.

"Ther is na provision maid for the pure relicts and fatherles¹ of the Ministerie. But nochtwithstanding thair earnest, fathfull, and maist wakryff cear over thair flockes, quhilk maid them to cast away all uther industrie and vertew for warldlie provision to thair wyffes and childring, they ar suffered to beg and ly in miserie efter ther departour.

"The Scholles, and in speciall the Collage of Theologie, quhilk sould be the Seminarie of the Kirk and Ministerie, leakes provision bathe for Maisters and Students; for the haill rents thair of standing in Teinds, ar sparpeled² in sindrie parts and provinces of the countrey, far from the Collage, and thes gentilmen tenants, accustomed to pay a small silver-dewtie, will na wayes grant till augment, uncompellit be law; the quhilk the exception of *omnium interest* steyes from taking effect; sa that honest, grave, and lernit men, sic as sould be the Professours of Theologie, can nocht haiff thair neidfull and honest sustentation. And as for Students, the childring of the grait and riche ar nocht desyrus of Divinitie. The mid rank thinks it an unthrift to bestow thair childring's 'berns' part of geare' in susteining tham at the studie of Theologie; and when they haiff past the course thair of, to haiff na guid roum or moyen of lyff preparit for them in Kirk or Comoun-weill. And as for the Pure, quhilk ar comounlie best giffen to that studie, and wharof comes maist fruit to the Kirk of Chryst, they haiff na thing to sustein tham withe of thair awin, nather is ther provision of bursars' places for them; sa that na mervell it is whowbeit ther be bathe grait raritie and ignorance amangs the Ministerie: And, in verie deid, it is of the extraordinar benefit of God that ther is ather lerning or religioun in Scotland, being thairin nather fundationes or moyen to trean upe schollars, nor honour and profit for sic as hes attained to lerning.

"Of this comes it, that the guid ingyns, wharof na nation hes graitter store nor ours, ather is applyed for necessitie to handie-crafts and courting service, or then gaes furthe of the countrey, whar the

¹ The poor widows and orphan children of the Clergy.

² Scattered.

graittest part is corrupted and abusit, and maid maist dangerus enemies to the Kirk and Esteat of thair countrey.

"The Nobilitie and Gentlemen ar unlearned them selfs, and takes na delyt to haiff thair childring and frinds brought upe in lettres, to the grait reprotche and schame of the countrey, and thair awin grait hurt and dishonour.

"Ther is manie Noble and Gentil men that hes Prebendaries, Alterages, and uther rents and casualities, be the quhilk they pleasure ther servands and frinds in giffing them lyff-rents thairrof. The quhilk, giff they war a lytle mendit, rightlie used, and maid bursses in the scholles of Philosophie and Theologie, everie Noble man might haiff a seminarie of the youthe of thair awin frinds or servands within few yeirs weill instructed in guid letters, nocht onlie to serve them selves in thair housses, but also thair uther frinds and haill peiple of thair lands and dominiones.

"Dilapidators of thair benefices, and anuallers thairrof, from the right use, unto thair wyffes, childring, and frinds, efter they are deposit justlie be the Kirk from ther office, yit nevertheless, in despyt of God, the Kirk, and guid ordour, the Prince and the Law makes him to possess the benefice. And in case a houndrethe yeirs sen syne, the laborars or factors haid peyit victuall or fourtie pennies money for the boll, giff they sett it now in few or lang takks for fourtie pennies the boll, or change the victuall in silver, it is nocht esteimed diminution of the rental! Albeit the treuthe be, that fourtie pennies money now is diminished in valour sax-fauld from that it was a hounder yeir syne; yea, that fourtie pennies growes now toward fourtie shillings, and the boll of victuall that was then bought for fourtie pennies will nocht be bought now, *communibus annis*, for ten tymes our fourtie pennies at this day. Yea, sa hes the grait abbus growin, that in ceas the predecessour, being a waster of his benefice, hes sett lang takks and fewes with plean diminution, and also conteining just causes of reduction, ther is na remeadie to be gottin, altho the law be plan, because Judges, Lawers, Lords, and all, is infected with the sam seiknes, sa that the remead falles amang impossibilities, lyk the Heiland or Bordour theft.

"The rents, lands, and leivings of the Hospitalls, Almes-houses, and Masone Dieus,¹ ar lyk wayes tean in few² be gentilmen and burgeses for right nocht; in sic sort, that thair buildings is alwhare deceyit, and thair fundations lost and abolished.

"The Pure, partlie for want of thair awin patrimonie, and partlie for yeirly increassing of thair number, be wrang and oppression, goes throw the countrey in swarmes, war nor³ Turks or Infidelles, godles and lawles, without mariage, baptesme, or knowlage of dewtie to God or man.

"The Nobilitie neglects and castes af thair publict callings, leiving nocht as sic as sould haiff a speciall cair and charge of thair countrey and comoun-weill, and whom God hes callit to be counsallours to thair King, fathers of the peiple, and defendars and mean-teiners of his Kirk in this cleir light of the Gospell; for the quhilk calling, Chryst sall a day call them till acompt; bot rather as privat men, thinking it aneuche to keipe that quhilk thair fathers hes left tham, and tak thair pastyme and pleasur, or to conqueise mair to thair childring, or to be redoubted of thir nibours, and pley the oppressours and bangsters, &c.

"As for the rewlling of the comoun-weill, hald in hand till execution of justice, reforming and establisshing of the Kirk, counsalling and assisting of thair Prince to that purpose, they cair na mair thairfor nor sa mikle as may be a pretence for thair particulars: Sa that whar they sould be rewlers and halders of uthers in guid order and dewtie bathe in Kirk, Court, and Comoun-weill, they ar becom degenerat slaves to courteurs, and corruptars of Judges, men of law, and Kirk men, for bringing to pas manie unjust and wrangfull turn; or to be sufferit to sit at hame for thair ease and pastyme, as thouche they war born for ther awin bellie, lyk beasts. Wharof hes proceidit thir mischeiffs following:

"Ambassatours of Babel, clyentes of the Pape, our Athalia and the Hous of Guise, and the Court of Spean, profest Papists, hes bein and is sufferit to carie away the King's hart from the cheiff profes-

¹ *Maisons Dieu.*² *Feued*, taken in feu.³ Worse than.

sours and meanteiners of the Gospell, to runne a cours direct against relligion, weill of his countrey, and standing of him self in guid estate of kinglie honour, bodie and saull. Sa that it is thought and spokin, that the undewtifulnes and negligence of the Nobilitie hes indangerit, and almaist lost, that rare perle of sa notable expectation.

“Debauschit¹ men, godles flatterers, wha haid sauld² them selves in body and conscience to do anie thing for warldlie preferment, was sufferit till insinuat tham selves in the King's favour; wha withe violence, outragius pryd, craft, falsed and flatterie, war meit to execut the plat leyed down be the Papists, and now, ingrattfullie indeid, and injustlie upon the part of men imployed to wrak thair advancsars, bot in respect of God maist justlie to punishe the ower-sight of the nobilitie. Yea, thair degenerat harts, wha cearit nocht for purchassing of thair particulars to becom servants and courtiers of flattering courteours, and permit the haill government of the Comoun-weill to be cast lous and turn in tyrannie, to thair just deservit wrak in the end.

“Of this hes sprung the absolut powar, wharbe,³ as a monster never hard of in anie just government, the haill privileges of the thrie Esteates of the Realme is weakned and almost takin away; be the quhilk Esteates, according to the lovable custom of the Kingdome of Scotland, fra the beginning thair of, all things with mature deliberation, frie reasoning and votting, all things was done, and be the quhilk Kings, passing thair bounds to the wrak and oppression of the Comoun-weill, war corrected and brought in ordour. In lyk maner, the privileges of Towns and Universities, yea of the holie Kirke it self, established be sa manie guid rewlars and parliaments, according to the Word of God, ar owerthrawn.

“All the Judgments of the Realme, Secret Counsall, Session, Justice Courts, Consistories, Scheriffs' Courtes, Provost, Bailies and uthers, ar rewlit, nocht be law, civill or municipall, right or reasone, *sed Principis placitum legis habet vigorem*. It is the King's will,

¹ Debauched, worthless.

² Sold.

³ Whereby.

for now Captean James, as Stratocles in Athens, hes maid a law, 'That whatsoever the King commands, that is halie¹ towards God, and just anents² men.'

"From thence ar sa manie score of slaughters, and murdours, hearschips and oppressiones, lying on the head of the King and bak of the countrey, crying to the heavinnes for just vengeance from the righteous God; for as everie an hes³ moyen at Court, sa comes his mater to pas. And because the Court is godles and wicked, the maist ungodlie and wicked finds the graittest moyen thairin: Wharof it comes that the wicked thus triomphe, and the guid and godlie is oppressit and wracked; sa that na mervell it is to sie the countrey thus plegged, yea, whowbeit it sould utterly pearishe, in God's righteous judgments.

"The King's patrimonie and casualities ar graitlie hurt and abusit; whilk causes nocht onlie his povertie, to the grait scham of the countrey, and hinderance of comoun warks, bot also sa monie intolerable taxationnes, exactiones, and imposts to be maid upon his subjects, to the tyning of thair harts, and wrak of the pure laborars; for Lords, Lards, and Prelates, exacts twyse sa mikle from thair pure tenents upon that occasion.

"Of the forementioned Papisticall course, and this, comes sa manie forfaultries and banishment of the best and maist noble men of the realme; selling of slaughters and blud, grait soumes of compositiones exacted for na faults bot weill doing; the quhilk all of God's judgments turnes to mischeiffs, whill as be thir divelishe seductors it is abusit to execut all kynd of violence against the guid men of the land.

"The rest referring to your Lordschips' experience and wesdome, and to sic as hes graitteir insight, be yeirs and judgment, I ceas nocht to pray God to giff your Lordschips an upright and constant resolution to sie thir things sum day redressit and amendit."

Zacharie i. "Thus sayes the Lord of Hostes, Turn unto mie with all your harts, and amend your evill wayes, and I will turn unto yow, sayes the Lord of Hosts."⁴

¹ Holy.² Concerning.³ According as any one has.⁴ Zech. i. 3.

Now, because amangs these horrible corruptiones, we haiff affirmed that quhilk wald seim incredible in a reformed and sattled estate of a Kirk, That these monstruus misrewlars wald cause the King tak unto him to be the onlie Head and Monarche in the Kirk, as in the Comoun-weill; and that the cheiff rewlers of the Kirk, the Bischopes, sould tak the authoritie and warrand of thair calling from him, (quhilk is pleane Popish Hierarchie, and so mikle wars,¹ as the Pape is a Bischope, an ecclesiastik persone and office-bearer, provyding he and his Kirk war trew,) as indeid I could skarslie a lang whyll beleive my selff that the devill durst sa soone and planlie utter him selff in Scotland, whill I gat the actes of parliament for-mentioned; and efter diligent intreatie, a just copie of the Arch-bischope of St Androis' Bull cam in my hand, quhilk for the war-rand of sa hiche alleageance it behoved me heir till insert:

“A COPIE OF THE BULL QUHILK THE ARCHBISCHOPPE OF ST ANDROIS GAT OF THE KING, AS SUPREAM GOVERNOUR OF THE KIRK, WHEREBY HE HAS POWAR AND AUTHORITIE TO USE HIS ARCHEPISCOPALL OFFICE WITHIN THE KIRK AND HIS DIOCESE.

“OUR SOVERAN LORD, with advys and consent of the Lords of his Hienes Privie Counsell, ordeanes a Letter to be maid under the Grait Seall in dew form, geivand, grantand to his weilbelovit clerk and orator, Patrik, Archbischope of St Androis, powar, authoritie, and jurisdiction to exerceis the saming Archbischoprio, be him selff, his Deputes, and Commissionars, in all maters Ecclesiasticall within the diocease of St Androis, and shireffdomes quhilk hes bein heirtofore annexed thairunto: With powar to the said Archbischope under his Hienes to call and conveyn Synodall Assemblies of the ministerie within the diocease for keiping of guid ordour, meantaining of trew doctrine and reformation of maners alleanerlie:² To plant Ministers of Kirks, quhilks sall happin to be desolat and vacand:³ To giff Admission and Collation of Benefices to persones qualesfiet, ather pre-

¹ Much worse.

² Alone, only.

³ Vacant.

sentit be the lawfull Patrones or us : To Depose persones unqualified and unable in lyff or doctrine for discharging thair cure ; the quhilk persones being sa deposit, thair rents, stipends, and benefices to veak¹ in the hands of the lawfull Patrones, to be conferred of new to qualesfiet and godlie persones : To reform Collages, Kirks, and sic uther places apointed for lerning : To place and displace Maisters of Collages unqualesfiet, according to the tenour of thair fundationes, or evill affected to our service and obedience, contraveining be word or wryt our Royall powar and privilage establisshed in our leat actes of parliament, or sklanderung us be erroneous doctrine : To Visit the Hospitales within the diocease, and Kirkes, and sie tham weill furnesit, menteinied, and apperrelled : Commanding our fathfull and trew subjects to yeild unto the said Patrik, Archbischope of St Androis, dew obedience : And that the sam may be better reverenced and obeyit, we haiff given and granted powar to the said Archbischope to haiff an of the maist verteus, godlie, and honest officers of armes within the said diocease, wha salbe callit the Officer of the Kirk, wha sall in our nam and autoritie assait the forsaid Archbischope, and sall command all and sindrie contraveinars and brakars of the guid and godlie ordour of the Kirk, of what degrie or qualetie soever they be under us, with sic penalties, mulcts, imprisonments, repentances and maner thairrof, as we, our Counsallours and Esteates sall agrie unto, upon the humble sutt of the said Archbischope, and uther Bischopes and Commissionars in Ecclesiasticall maters ; in the quhilk, giff the said Bischope and officer be disobeyit, we will accompt the injurie don to our awin persone, and punishe the saming with all rigour, in exemple of uthers. Provyding alwayes, that giff anie persone or persones receive anie intolerable wrang, or, without cause or just deserving, be uther wayes usit be the said Bischope, than as the law of God and lovable constitution of this realme does permit, it salbe leisome² to the persones sa inornlie hurt to appell to us, and our soveran autoritie to be interponit for remead thairrof ; for giff the seat and image of

¹ Become vacant. Lat. *vacare*.² Lawful, allowable.

Emperours in ancient tyme war a sufficient girthe,¹ azill,² and protection to them that haid refuge thairunto, it becomes us mikle mair in our awin persone to be a confort, aid, and releiff to tham that sall seik unto our cleamencie against whatsumever oppression be spirituell or temporall persones, to whom we promise our princelie favour; the quhilk we mynd always till administrat be³ the grace of God in sic sort as we may be answerable to him, whase image and leutennantrie we bear in this realm. And fordar, because it is necessar for the Kirk of God, and preservation of guid ordour to be menteinied thairin, that, when necessitie requyres, the Bischopes of everie dyocease, and sic uther lerned men of thair diocease as salbe thought meit for that purpose, assemble togidder for taking of an uniform ordour to be observit in the realm, in form of Comoun Prayer and uther things requisit, for the comoun esteat of the Kirk, we, of our princelie powar, grantes the privilage unto the said Arch-bischope to conveyn the rest; provyding alwayes, that befor apie Convention Generall of the Clargie, that the said Bischope sall mak us advertised of the necessarie causses of the forsaid Convention, that we may understand the saming to tend to the weifear of the Kirk and polecie of the countrey; and that the said Bischope may haiff our speciall licence thairunto granted unto him under our privie seall; and that na act or constitution maid be the Assemblie of Bischopes or Clerks haiff anie force, strenthe, or effect within our realm, to bind anie of our subjects, without they be allowit, approvit, and confirmed be us, our Counsall and Esteat: And efter the probation of our royall autoritie, they to stand in full force and effect," &c.

Thus it pleased God, of his grait mercie and grace, to haiff me occupied the first monethe of my entrie with our Lords; about the end wharof Mr Patrik Galloway, returning bak againe from London, cam to us, and undertaking the Ministerie of the companie

¹ Sanctuary.² Asylum.³ To administer by.

with me, (wha travelit onlie in the Word and Discipline,) lyked weill of our ordour, and according to the saming, efter the exerceis of fasting, a haill ouk going before, ministrat the Holie Communion the last Sabothe of August; and sa continowing conform to our ordour, in everie point, the monethes of September and October; in the quhilk, because my wyff was becom grait with chyld of hir first birthe, and langit to be in Berwik, ther to ly, for divers reasones, I, obtaining leive of the flok, convoyed hir thither, and returned to my charge till the monethe of November: In the quhilk, the Lords haiffing Mr Patrik with thame, thought it meit that I sould remean a space at Berwik, because the halff of the companie and my wyff was ther; for ther was the Lords Abbots of Cambuskinnell,¹ Drybrouche, and Pasley, George Dowglas of Parkheid, and dyvers uther gentilmen. To this I aggreit, and entering with tham, helde tham occupied als neir the ordour leyd down as could win. And surlie I was never mair diligentlie and fruitfullie occupied nor² that wintar; for by the exerceise quhilk I haid amangs our awin folke, to the quhilk resorted a number of godlie peiple of the town, because the publict doctrin in the Kirk was dischargit be a practeising betwix the Lord of Hounsдан, Governour, and Captean James, gyddar of our Court, called then Erle of Arran and Chancellor of Scotland. The guid Lady Wedringtoun, of whom I maid mention befor, being cowsines, and in creadit with the said Lord Governour, obtained licence to me, for hir confort and of a number of maist godlie and zealus peiple, to teatche in a certean hous of the Town thryse in the ouk, to thair and myne grait joy and consolation.

During that tyme the Communion was to be celebrat in Berwik, and therfor a certean dayes I teatched to tham the doctrine of Preparation before the sam; wherin that guid Lady fand sic instruction and confort, that sche earnestlie intreated me to sett down the substance thair of to hir in wryt: The quhilk I did, the quhilk also sche schew me a space thairefter copied ower in her awin hand wryt,

¹ Cambuskenneth, generally so spelled in ancient MSS.

² Than.

exceeding a thrie or four [leaves] throuche, for sche wrot verie fear. Sic was hir diligence and cair to grow in knowlage and practise of trew relligion.

The newes quhilk we haid, in the meantyme, out of Scotland war verie evill; for Arran, with his authorised Archbischope, began then to rage.

Diverse gentillmen, upon naked and bear suspitionnes, was apprehendit and put to schamfull execution. Amangs whom was the Lard of Drumwhasill, wha drank a bitter coupe of his awin brewing; for he was a grait counsallour and doar in bringing hame Monsieur d'Obignie, and his sone-in-law, the Lard of Meanse, a gentleman of notable gifts of body and mynd, and thairfor mikle hated and fearit of these wicked men; whase deathe was als mikle lamented in Eingland as ever I hard Scotsman.

The Archbischope, that he sould nocht be behind, fell to wark, and in tyme of modification of stipends, sett down the form of a Band, the quhilk all behoved to subscrieve that gat assignation of stipends; yea, it was sa prosecut, that wha soever refused to subscrieve was thretned with the los of thair benefices and leivings, yea fordar, with imprissonment and banishment, in cais of anie spetches uttered in the contrar. Heirupon, and sum uther forget causes, Mr David Lindsay was put in the preasone of Blaknes, Mr Jhone Howisone in the Spey Towre of St Jhonstoun, Mr Andro Hay put in warde, and hardlie usit; yea, ther was nocht a guid man, in Kirk or countrey, but was put in sic fear, and oppressed with sic greiff, that they weired of thair lyvis, and thought us happie wha was away, and haid that libertie of body and mynd to serve our God and ease our conscience.

A grait number of the Ministerie kythed¹ what they war; even sum at the beginning went throuchlie with the Archbischope, but efter Mr Jhone Crag and Jhone Dunkesone, the King's Ministers, yeildit; wharof that ane, Mr Crage,² haid stand constant verie

¹ Experienced, realized. ² "Mr Crag at this tyme pronuncit a judgment upon the Erle of Arran, in his face, befor the King, saying, 'As the Lord is just, he will

lang, and susteined grait thretnings and bost of Arran ; yit, at last, be weaknes and a sort of sophistication, (casting in a clause, " according to the Word of God," making *manifestam repugnantiam in adjecto*, as giff ane sould say, he wald obey the Pape and his Prelates, according to the Word of God,) he yeildit and subscriyvit, and drew with him the graittest part of the Ministerie of Scotland, quhilk was the heaviest newes that could com to us ; for, alas ! then the enemies triumphed, and all the harts of guid men war broken and discouragit. Yit ther war a few guid breither in Mers and Lawdien,¹ wha, as they might, bathe keipit tham selves clein, and withstude the adversar, making sum stay to that grait defec-tion, wha knawing that I was in Berwik, acquainted me with the mater, and send me the forme of the Band, with information of all proceedings. Wharupon, with grait motion and greiff of mynd, I pennit this Letter following, and send in, togidder with a Letter in Latine, and the controversies gathered to a few conclusiones, confirmed with manifauld reasones and places of Scripture, directed to the Archbishops meache² and graittest associat, Mr Alexander Home, Minister of Dumbar ; provoking him to answer giff he could, or giff nocht, to bid his ordinar, the Archbischope, do it him selff. Bot I haid nather answer of the an nor uther, and the guid breith-ring war thairby mikle conforted and incuragit.

A JUST COPIE OF THAT QUHILK THE SUBSCRIVING MINISTERS FIRST
AND LAST DID SUBSCRYVE.

"WE, the benefited men, Ministers, Reiddars, Maisters of Scholles

humble yow !' The Erle, mokking him, said, ' I sall mak the of a fals Frier a trew Profet !' and sa, sitting down on his knie, he sayes, ' Now I am humblit !' ' Na,' sayes Mr Crag, ' mok the servant of God as thow will, God will nocht be mockt ; bot mak the find it, in earnest, when thow salbe humblit af the hiche hors of thy pryde !' Quhilk, within a certean of yeirs thairefter, (1598,) cam to pas, when James Dowglas ran him af his hors with a spear, and slew him ; and his carcas, cast in an open Kirke besyde, or [ere] it was buried was fund eattin with the dogs and swyne ! Mr Crag, utherwayes an excellent pretcher, haid dischargit a fathfull dewtie at Court in all his ministerie, bot heirin grevit us all to the verie hart."—Note by the Author on margin of MS.

¹ Merse and Lothian.

² *Maik*, companion, confident.

and Collages, undersubscriyving, testifies and fathfullie promises, be thir our hand-wreittes, our humble and dewtifull submission and fidelitie to our Soveran Lord the King's Majestie ; and to obey with all humilitie his Hienes actes of parliament haldin at Edinbruche the xxij. day of May 1584 yeirs : And that, according to the sam, we sall schaw our obedience to our ordinar Bischope or Commisionar apointed, or to be apointed, be his Majestie, to have the exerceise of the spirituall jurisdiction in our diocese, [according to the Word of God.] And in ceas of non-obedience in the premisses, our benefices, stipends, and leivings to vac,¹ *ipso facto*, and qualesfiet and obedient persones to be provydit in our rowmes,² as giff we war naturalie dead ; according to his Hienes Act of Parliament maid thairanent in all pointis.

“ TO THE BREITHRING OF THE MINISTERIE OF SCOTLAND,

“ Wha hes latlie subscriyvit to the Popish Supremacie of the King, and ambitius tyrannie of the Bischops ower thair Brithring,

“ J[ames] M[elvill] wissethe unfeinyit repentance.

“ THER is strange newes latlie reported unto us, (my breithring,) that yie sould haiff altogidder without streakes³ yeildit to the adversarie, and nocht onlie be word consentit, bot also be the subscription of your hands confirmed, that horrible boundage and sklaverie, wharinto our Kirk of Scotland is brought be the leat actes of parliament, and this present intolerable tyrannie of the fals Bischopes ; the quhilk, undoutedlie brought upon yow be Sathan, the adversar of Chryst's kingdome, hes bein wrought be the meanes ather of malice and hatred against the treuthe knawin, or of ignorance, or then of grait weaknes.

“ Trewlie, my breithring, albeit I know that of tham that wer Sathan's instruments, be feir and flatterie, to bring yow to so feirfull a fall and greivus sklander, sum be new Julians, who, altho they

¹ Become vacant.

² Places.

³ Without opposition, without a blow struck.

confes they know the treuthe of the sinceare Religion of Chryst, yit for malice and hatred conceavit against it and the Ministers thair of, they haid rather bein of the Turks' fathe then of the fathe of Ministers. And, thairfor, following the fut-steaps of Julian, they persecut the sam malitiuslie, taking the leivings from the Ministers, casting tham in pressone, banissing tham the countrey, owerthrowing the Scholles and Seminaries apointed for the continuance thair of; and wald undoutedlie, with fyre and sword, persew the saming, giff force and powar answerit to thair incensit aire¹ and bludie appetit. Sum ar mair leing, flattering, and ambitius, then was Amaziah, the Preist of the King's Chappell at Bethell, wha, perceaving the prophetes of the Lord to prophecie against King Jeroboam's new forgit relligion, be serving to the quhilk his ambition and gluttonie was meanteined, he ceassit nocht till invent treassone, sedition, and all sort of lies against tham, and mak the King to banishe, imprissone, and persecut tham with all kynd of rigour; mair avaritius and war² myndit against God's childring then Balaam the fals prophet, cursing and devysing all meanes to mak the peiple of the Lord to fall in the hands of thair enemies, and furnesing to Balak wicked and devillishe counsall till intyse tham to defection from the trew worschipping, and sa to sin against God, to mak the fyre of his wrathe to kindle against tham; and, finalie, mair rashe, and void of guid conscience, in maters of Relligion, then was Urias the preist, wha thought idolatrus King Ahaz' command a warrand guid aneuche for him to displace the altar of the Lord, and sett in the roum thair of an new dressit, according to the form of the Altar of Damascus.³ Sum, wars nor⁴ the godles Atheist Machiavel, wha careing in thair sleives maist cunning court-craft, makes na thing of God, Chryst, and Relligion, with the Ministers thair of, bot pages and slaves to serve to thair turnes: For if they may mak for thair course, and sic an esteat of government as they wald haiff, O then they will speak weill, and graitleie esteim of tham! Bot if they can do na thing for thair purpose, or can nocht suffer thair wicked at-

¹ Wrath, ire.² Worse.³ See 2 Kings xvi. 10-16.⁴ Worse than.

tempts, or will nocht change and alter opiniones when they will, then can they nocht be sufferit in a Comoun-weill; they ar enemies to Princes and lawfull authorities; they ar seditius, proude, and treasonable, and thairfor man till exyll,¹ banissement, preasone, and skaffauld. To these Hell is but a boggill to fley barnes,² and Heavin but a conceat to mak foolles fean! And last, mair ethnik nor Numa Pampilius, esteiming Relligion and worschiping of God bot a superstitius terrour to the conscience of peiple to hauld tham in awe and under obedience.

"This I say, although they be, that works in this mater be malice and hatred, judgit and damnet of them selves, and whase portion salbe with the forenamed workers of iniquitie, to whom they ar lyk in lyff and doing; yit can yie nocht be purgit from communicating with thair feirfull sinnes, in sa far as yie haiff consented thairunto be word and wryt; wharas yie sould rather haiff obeyit the Word of God, commanding be his prophet—'Say nocht, a confederacie with this peiple, nather feir yie thair feir, nor be efrayit of tham, bot sanctefie the Lord of Hostes, and let him be your dreid: Surly he sould haiff bein unto yow as a sanctuarie, and unto tham a stumbling-blok, and a rok to fall upon.'³ Gladlie wald I purge you, my breithring, of this first mean of malice and hatred against the treuthe and the meanteinars thair of. And, alas! that anie occasioun sould ever haiff bein offerit annes to think this of anie of that number! But what sall I say when I heir that sum of yow hes nocht onlie subscrivit your selves, bot also, lyk desperat pest folks,⁴ destitut of Christian charitie, travelles to seduce and infect sic as ar haill⁵ and wald keipe the right way, and betrays the constancie of the best be delatting of tham to the persecutor; and that nocht onlie be telling the treuthe, bot be trattelles,⁶ lies, and forgit tealles,⁷ lyk warldlie pykthanks,⁸ to mak your godlie breithring ather to mak defection with yow, or then to suffer extremitie in thair bodies? Alas, for sorrow! whar is the fruicts of that doctrine

¹ They might be put to exile, &c.

² A bugbear to terrify children.

³ Isaiah viii.

⁴ People infected with the pestilence.

⁵ Whole, in good health.

⁶ Idle

talk, tittle-tattle.

⁷ Forged tales.

⁸ Pick-thanks.

of Love and Charitie quihilk hessoundit sa often out of your mouthes? Bot to let be charitie, whar is the hatred of malice and homicid? Alas! these ar rather the marks of bludie burraeus¹ and crewall buchars² of Sathan, the lier and murderar, then of the disciples of Chryst; the takens of Turke, Paganes, and Papists, then of Christian peiple, to let be Pretchours and instructors of uthers! Wo is me for yow, unles thir things be repented in tyme! Behauld, what it is to slyde bot a litle from the treuthe, and mak a schisme in opinion from the brethering! When Sathan getts ans entres, to mak untreuthe and falshode seim to be born withall, and yeildit unto bot a lytle, he gaes fordwart incontinent, and begets in the hart a hatred and malice against the treuthe and professours thair of. Bewar, beware, my breithring! Mark Sathan's craftie deallings; cast out with him and resist him in tyme, least he gett the vantage and preveall, and mak the last warse nor the first: 'For if we sin willinglie efter we haiff receavit the knowlage of the treuthe, ther remeanes na mair sacrifice for sin, but a feirful looking for of judgment, and violent fyre to devore the adversaries.'³

"Alwayes, my breithring, I wald willinglie heir yow all purgit of malice; bot I knaw sum will say, I knaw na better, and understand never throwlie the maters of the discipline, and, if we haiff fellit,⁴ it is of ignorance and nocht malice. Certeanlie, albeit I feir that to be over trew in over manie of yow, yit it is a schamfull thing to be hard tellit in your awin countrey, and abrod in other nationes, that yie, wha hes bein brought upe in sa notablie constitut a Kirk this twentie-sax yeirs, in quihilk sum of yow also hes bein Pastors and teatchers nocht mikle les, and all hes born function and charge, nocht onlie in pretching of the Word, but in discharging of that uther als necessar point of your ministerie, in rewling and governing of the Kirk with your fellow breithring thir manie yeirs bypast, to say that yie ar yit ignorant of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and spirituall autoritie of the kingdom of Chryst, and whow it differs from the temporall, bodelie, and civil polecie; what is the part and

¹ Executioners, hangmen.² Butchers.³ Hebrews x.⁴ Failed.

dewtie of the Christian magistrat in the Kirk ; and, namlie, whither he aught to be maid a new Pape, to use tyrannie over the Kirk, and conscience of men of the Ecclesiasticall functiones. And giff that satanical presumption and pryde of fals Bischopes may be tolerat in the Kirk of Jesus Chryst, quhilk from the dayes of Constantin, be whase mair zealus affection than considerat wisdome, they gat warldlie ritches and honour, hes infected the Kirk, nocht onlie with all kynd of vyces against the Second Table, but also hes rent and devydit the saming, with sects, schismes, heresies, and dissentiones, be thair ambitius debates, ever stryving for steat, wha might be hiest and graittest. Efter that annes that command and law of æqualitie giffen be Chryst was transgressed and violat, they never ceassit unto the tyme they haid hoised up that Man of Sin into the thron and roun of that onlie Supream Rewlar and Head, the Lord Jesus ; for Bischopes wald be Archbischopes, and they Metropolitanes, and they Patriarches, and sa Papes ! Yie conveynit your selves in Generall and Provinciaill Assemblies, and in Presbyteries, to the quhilk yeirlye, half-yeirlye, and ouklye, yie resorted, as ordinar members and charge-bearers within the sam ; and yit can nocht tell what ground, warrant, or autoritie yie did the sam upon, as tho yie sould planlie say, yie did it nocht in fathe ; and sa so often yie sinned and abusit those holy Conventionnes of the Kirk of Chryst.

“To your grait repruff, I man call to mynd the notable occasiones of attaining to solid knowlage in thir maters that God offerit unto yow ; bot in love, as of God his glorie, sa of your saules, as God mot love myne !¹ Forby and attour² your privat studies in reiding of the Scriptures, and sa monie lerned men's wrytings on thir poincts, aggreing all in effect in maist sweit harmonie, (wharinto, giff yie haid bein als diligentlie occupied as God gaiff tyme and occasion, yie neidit nocht to alleage ignorance for an excuse,) whow war thir heads handlit publictlye in the Assemblies ? Was nocht the Generall Assemblie, be the space of sax or seavin yeirs, almaist hailelie occupied in thir questiones ? War nocht the Ministers, in

¹ May God love mine !

² Besides and moreover.

all the quarters of the countrey, earnestlie exhorted, and, be publict authoritie, commandit to cears¹ and seik the Scriptures diligentlie, and all kynd of wrytters, auld and new, for finding furthe of the solide and undoutted treuthe? Was ther nocht apointed Conferences to be haid in all partes amangs the breithring, in thair Ouklie Exercises and Provinciaill Assemblies, from the quhilks men, weill instructed with reasones and judgment of the rest, war send, from tyme to tyme, to the Generall Assemblies; whar, bathe be privat and opin reasoning, the opinione and sentence of all men war examined and tryed, throw everie head of the discipline of the Kirk; and efter lang and often reasoning, all put in votting, and be haill and uniforme consent and aggreiment of the haill Kirk, in a Generall Assemblée, concludit, and digested in conclusion, and inregistrat in the Books of the said Assemblée, and extract thair of ordeanit to be giffen to everie Presbyterie throuhout the realm? Whidder, giff this, joyned with the continuall practise of the self-sam discipline, these divers yeirs bypast, may mak us inexcusable befor God, his Kirk, and Angelles, the verie blind warld may judge!

“Alas! deir breithring, yie may weill, for a schort tyme, think yow in guid estate that lerned nocht, because, as yie think, with les prik of conscience, and danger of bodies and geire, yie may pas ower thir evil days: But O, fulishnes! put the cais, yie might put af in this maner manie thowsand yeirs, ans² sall com the day when yie sall be forcit to compeir before that grait Judge, and giff an accompt of the discharging of that maist hie calling, when a compt salbe cravit of all the ydle houres, words, and doings that yie haiff spent! Sall yie nocht be then eschamit of that wherinto now yie tak pleasour? Sall nocht this sillie ease be turned in sorrowfull wanrest?³ Sall ignorance then be an excuse befor Him wha sall schaw him self from heavin, with the angels of his might, in flaming fyre, to tak vengeance on tham that has nocht knawn him, namlie, on sic as hes neglected and dispysit sa manie guid occasiones of knowlage ministrat unto tham? What sall the flatterie and autho-

¹ Search.² Once, at length.³ Restlessness.

ritie of your King and Bischop then avail? Na thing, bot to be partakers of judgment as of saine, except repentance intervein.

“ Oh ! my breithring, yie ar farder in the mist with this ignorance than yie suppose. For what hope sall Sathan haiff now, (of whase force, craft, an bissines, yie sa oftentymes warn your heirars,) to mak you to yeild in the verie poincts of the doctrine of salvation, seing he hes fund you sa easie to be overcom in the cais of the discipline, wharof yie haiff na less sure warrand and ground, referring to the mater in the Word of God, if you haid list to haiff lerned? What incuragment sall it be to the Papists, that hes nocht bein neglegent in lerning the untreuthe, and studeing the controversies in thair Seminaries, and wha now daylie provokes us to the combat, when they sie but a lytle threatning of the Prince, nocht of lyff, bot leiving, and a small piece of flatterie of a fals Bischope, is able to shak you from your grounds, and mak you to fall for leak of knowlage; yea, to suffer the wall and blok-housses of your discipline to be demolished and douned down, thinking (as indeid they may) it wilbe easie to mak the breiche, and win the hault and citie of your doctrine and Kirk? Sall they nocht, I say, haiff guid cause to hope weill of the victorie and conquest? Sall they nocht haiff reasone till affirme that quhilk they haiff sa often spokin and wryttin, That the Ministers of Scotland is bot a sort¹ of ignorant and feible beasts, wha nather dow abyde reasoning nor thretning? My breithring, the devill hes maid a grait brak amangs you, and with small forces, and few strakes, gottin a grait victorie over you; and yit yie will find that he will nocht content nor stay ther, but as a victor puft upe, will preas fordwart. And, thairfore, in the tender mercies of God, for the cair I haiff of your salvation, extreamlie indangerit now, when fame is lost and gone, I man apply unto you an extream and harde remead,² to pluk you if possible out of the claues of Sathan; to wit, that feirfull commination³ of the Apostle to the Hebrews, ‘ It is impossible that they quhilk war annes lightned, and haiff tasted of the heavenlie gift, and war maid partakers of the Holie

¹ A company, an assortment.

² Remedy.

³ Threatening.

Ghost, and hathe teasted of the guid Word of God, and of the powar of the warld to come, if they fall away, salbe renewit againe be repentance; seing they crucifie again to tham selves the Sone of God, and makes a mok of him. The erthe, quhilk drinks up the rean that comes upon it, and brings furthe herbes meit for tham be whome it is dressit, receaves a blessing of God. Bot that quhilk bears thornes and breires is reprobate, and neir cursing; the end wharof is to be brunt. Yit, breithring, weilbelovit, we ar persuadit of better things, and meit for salvation, of you,¹ whowbeit we thus, with the Apostle, wryt to terifie you, and reclame and rease [you] from this fall, and keipe you bak from farder and wars.²

“Alas! what a face sall yie have to com befor the godlie and faithful breithring of the countrey, when it sall please God to delyver his awin Kirk, and restore it again to the former or better estate? or rather, What a conscience and mynd sall yie haiff, when yie remember, reid, or heir, that wa pronounced be Chryst upon tham be whome sklander and offence comes? And O! whow manie godlie hartes, bathe in Scotland and Eingland, yea, in France, and all Reformed Kirks, ar crewalie wounded with this fact of yours, and that nocht without grait cause! For, als lang as the haille ministerie stud constant, ther was guid hope of a happie redres of maters; bot now, be this fact, yie haiff giffen the devill entres within the walles of Jerusalem to spoil and destroy all the guid and constant citiciners thair of, wha will nocht defyll tham selves, bow thair knies to Baall, and eat swyne's flesche with you. What will yie think, when yie com to that vers of the 50th Psalm, ‘Unto the wicked this sayes God, What hes thow to do to declar my ordonances, that thow souldst tak my covenant in thy mouthe, seing thow hates discipline, and hes casten my words behind this?’ Wald to God yie sould be sa moved therby, as was the lerned Origin, wha, efter he haid bein inducit, throw weakness, to sacrifice to idols; thairafter coming unto the Kirk to preatche, casting up the buik, he fell, be God's providence, on the sam place of the Psalm,

¹ Hebrews vi. 4-9.² Further and worse falls.³ Psalm i. 16, 17.

and bursting out in teares befor the peiple, he maid a maist dolorous and bitter lamentation and invectioun against him selff, as ye may reid in his Lyff, recorded by Suidas. And, finalie, What a dart to your pure conscience sall that sentence of Chryst be, 'He that denyes me befor men, I will deny him befor my heavenlie Father?' For yie knaw, that whosoever heires the Word of God, and does it nocht, namlie, in the tyme of tryall, schawes nocht that he is solidlie groundit in the sam, denyes Chryst, as he him self teatches in the 7th of Matthew utherwayes: 'Manie sall come unto him on that day, and say, Lord, did we nocht prophecie in thy name? Did we nocht work miracles and cast out devilles? Bot he will answer, I knaw you nocht; depart from me, yie workers of iniquitie.'¹

"Bot it may be that sum of you, your unhappie complices and counsallours in this course, thinks, and will say, 'What neids all this ado? Why ar yie sa hat² in threatning? the mater is nocht of sa grait weght,' &c. Alas! my breithring, miserable and lamentable experience, except God of his mercie prevent it, I feir, sall teatche you and the pure Kirk of Scotland what ye haiff done, and whow grait and sear ar the consequents that insewes on your fact. For, first, be the approving of that act of parliament anent the King's Supremacie in all causes Ecclesiasticall as Civill, and na appellation³ to be maid from him, yie haiff nocht onlie sett upe a new Pape, and sa becom trators to Chryst, and condescendit to the cheiff error of Papistrie, wherupon all the rest dependes; quhilk, giff it be nocht to deny and refuse Chryst, I knaw nocht what it is sa to do. Bot, farder, ye haiff, in sa doing, granted mair to the King then ever the Papes of Rome peaceblie obtained, whow tyrannuslie and ambitiuslie soever they sought the sam; for the Counsalles of Constance and Basil decreit in the Pape's face, and be infinit arguments of reasone and Scripture evicted, that it was nocht onlie a veritie bot a poinet of fathe, The Councill to be above the Pape, and appellationes to be maist lawfull from the Pape to the Coun-

¹ Matt. vii. 22, 23.² Hot, severe.³ Appeal.

cill. And sa, from the Pape ther was ever appellationes to the Councells, rewlit be the Word of God and his Spreit, wherin the trew Bischopes and Pastors, and Doctors of the Kirk, satt as Chryst's officiars, to judge and discern on maters Ecclesiasticall, according to the Word of God. In the quhilk the best Christian Emperours that ever war, Constantin and Theodosius, sat in na hier degrie nor the Pastors, as obedient members of the Kirk, humblie to be governed and rewled with the rest be the scepter of the Word of God, and nocht as heads and Lords to command and rewill over it, knowing the Lord Jesus Chryst was onlie King and Emperour thair. Bot ye haiff subscriyvit, that whosoever, in anie mater Ecclesiasticall, declynes the King and Counsall's judgment, salbe reput and punished as a tratour. What, I pray you, giff these profest Papistes and Jesuistes that flockes ham out of France, Spean, and Italie, and finds graitter favour and credit in Court then all the Ministers, what if they sall challenge you for the Doctrine of Justification, frie will, reall presence, and the rest of the Heids of Religion, for these, as chieff maters Ecclesiasticall, sall the King and his Counsall be judge to you, and na appellation be maid under the pean of treassone! What sall, then, I pray you, becom of Relligion and the professours thair of? Sall they nocht be ather forced to deny Chryst, or maid to disput with the torments apointed for trators? And syne this, for a klok, to be casten ower it. It is nocht for Religion, but for Hie Treassone, that sic ar sa handlit! Do yie nocht heir espy the craft of the crewall feind, wha dar nocht, in this age of knowlage and light of the gospell, oppon him selff against the treuthe, as the Scrybes and Pharisies durst not gainstand the doctrine of Chryst, bot seiks, under pretence of lawes, and klok of justice, to mak the godlie and trew professours and preachours to be schamfull spectacles, that thairby men may be eschamit of the veritie of the Evangell; even as Chryst was put to deathe under the nam of sedition and treassone!

"Secondlie, Yie haiff taken away, be your subscriptiones, the lawfull powar of the Pastors and Doctors, and Eldars of the Kirk, to conveyn tham selves in the nam of na erthlie Prince, nor temporall

autoritie of King, nor for na erthlie nor temporall effears, bot in the nam and autoritie of Jesus Chryst, King of kings, Lord of lords, the onlie Soveran rewlar and commander within the Kirk, quhilk is his kingdome spirituall, and nocht of this warld, till intreat¹ of things heavinlie and eternall, quhilk directlie concernes the saules and consciences of men: The quhilk powar they haiff of Chryst, planlie, in his Letter Will, joyning a maist comfortable promise against sic grait difficulties that behovit till aryse in the discharge of sa hiche an office, 'Whansoever twa or thrie of yow salbe convenit in my nam, I salbe in the mids of yow.' Leaning upon the quhilk powar and promise, the Apostles and Disciples conveyed tham selves sindrie tymes efter the resurrection of Chryst, and efter his ascension, to choise ane in the roume of Judas;² they assemblit the haill congregation to the election of the Diacons;³ and now, efter a grait manie kirks war planted, nocht onlie amangs the Jewes, bot also amangs the Gentilles, the Apostles and Eldars assemblit tham selves in a Generall Counsall at Jerusalem, to determin in the question moved about the circumcision, and sa furthe. For, when the command be Chryst is giffen ather to the heirars to heir, or the Pastors to feid, or the Doctors to teatche, or the Eldars to govern or rewill, surlie, be necessitie of relation, it man be that he giffes tham also autoritie and powar in his nam to convey to-gidder, and with thair flockes, for that effect. Sa that be that act of parliament quhilk discharges the Assemblies and Conventiones of Ecclesiasticall Office-bearers, is restranit that friedom quhilk Chryst Jesus hes giffen to the officers of his kingdome, to convey for discharging of the dewties and callings quhilk he hes leyd on tham, to be usit for his service, and salvation of his peiple.

"And, trewlie, als weill might they haiff dischargit the Conventiones for heiring of the Word and ministration of the Sacraments, as for the exerceising of discipline and government of the Kirk; seing this is na les leyd⁴ on the bak of the officers of Chryst's Kingdom, as a speciall part of thair dewtie and charge nor the for-

¹ To treat.² Acts i.³ Acts vi.⁴ Laid, imposed.

mer, and hes the command and powar giffen to use it na less then the uther, without careing for anie authoritie or command of men. For that quhilk Chryst sa earnestlie repeates to Piter, quhilk also is commoun to all Pastors, 'Feid ! feid ! feid !' is nocht onlie be Word and Sacraments, bot also be discipline, rewling, and government, as the mater it self declares, the word signifies, and the similitud planlie proves. And what, I pray you, meines the comand of Chryst's till the Kirk, that is, the Ecclesiastick Senat or Assemblie of the Office-bearers, as the lerned expones it, 'And if he refuse to heir the Kirk, let him be unto thie as an ethnic and publican !' giff the Kirk hes nocht powar and authoritie of judgment giffen to it be Chryst ? And that, 'I give you the keyes of the kingdome of heavine ; whatsoever yie louse on erthe salbe lowsit in heavin ; and whatsoever yie bind on erthe salbe bund in heavin.' War thir keyes giffen to anie king or magistrat ? or flowes the powar thair of from humean ordination ? And, finalie, what meineth the Apostle to the Romanes xii., when he so earnestlie exhortes everie officiar in the Kirk to discharge thair calling diligentlie ? Willes he tham till abyde the commandiment of anie erthlie King or Prince ? Na, als frilie as the King hes his powar and authoritie of God, the Creator, to discharge his office in things civill and temporall, als frilie hes the Pastors, Eldars, Doctores, and Deacones of the Kirk powar and authoritie of Jesus Chryst, the Redeimer, to do thair office in things heavenlie and spirituell. But I purpose nocht, my breithring, to insist with you in proving of maters at this tyme ; bot, taking things to be sufficientlie tryed and concludit unto the tyme I heir anie reasones alleagit be you or anie uther in the contrar, I wald discover unto you the feirfull consequences of this your yeilding, tending to the wrak of Chryst's Kirk, and the libertie thair of.

"It was onlie the Assemblies and Presbyteries, as all that feires God, yea, and the enemies tham selves knawes, that was the ordinarie mean to keipe the Kirk of Scotland from the pollution of vyces, hearesies, and schismes ; the quhilk now being takin away, vyce and wickednes sall overflow, for wha sall tak ordour thairwith ? The Court and Bischopes ? Als weill as Martin Elwod and Will-

of Kinmont with stealing on the Bordours ! Heresie, Atheisme, and Papistrie, sall brak in, for wha sall resist it ? The Bischopes ? Put the cais, that sic wha hes sauld God, religion, and heavin, for this present warld, and the things thair of, could haiff the grace to gainstand the Atheists and Papists, and cheiff meinteiners of Atheisme and Papistrie, wilbe graitter in Court (fra the quhilk the Bischopes hes thair powar and authoritie, and can, nor dar do na thing without speciall leive and command thair of) nor the beggerlie Bischopes and all thair Clergie can be. And last, the schismes and controversies that ayses and ar sawin be Sathan salbe na wayes componit nor extinguisit be the brotherie and humble Conventiones in æqualitie, (as the happie experience of sax and twentie year bypast hes proven our Assemblies till have done,) bot contrarie wayes, be the proude ambition and vanitie of the Bischopes, they salbe daylie fosterit, increassit, and augmentit ; the pruiiff and experience wherof yie may reid efter the first thrie hounder yeirs of Chryst's Kirk, when the persecutions war endit, and the Bischopes began, under Christian Emperours, to gett ease, honour, and ritches, and brak the commandiment of Chryst, began till usurpe lordlie authoritie and preheminance over thair breithring. Fra that tyme, as never of befor, miserablie hes the Kirk been cut and devydit be controversies, schismes, and heresies ; sa pernitiis hes it bein to ley asyde the Word of God, and right rewilles of governing of his Kirk be æqualitie amangs the Pastors.

“ Thridlie, Yie haiff consentit and subscrivit that thir Bischopes sall haiff the owersight and rewling of all the Kirks, according to the powar quhilk they receave of thair Pape and head. Quhilk office hes na warrand in the Scripture of God, but is an invention of Sathan brought in be ambition and avarice ; yea, that presumptuous and lordlie authoritie over the rest of ther breithring is plat contrar to the word and commandiment of Chryst ; Matth. x. 19, and xxvi. 24, 28, and of Luc xxii. 24, 25, 26, 27, and [1] Pet. v. 1, &c. And that mangrell melling with civill and warldlie maters, exerceising judicatur in civill and criminall causes, loudlie cryes that they war never of Chryst, whase kingdome is nocht of this

ward; wha refused to be maid King be the peiple, yea, wald nocht sa mikle as devyde the inheritance amangs breithring, albeit a charitable turn; and all for eschewing of incumbrance in erthlie maters, quhilk might hinder him from the spirituall and heavinlie wark of his Father, for the quhilk he was send. And by and attoure the unlawfulness of the office, quhilk the Scripture and nature of the kingdome of Chryst can nocht bear withall, the persones that presentlie yie haiff subscrivit obedience unto are infamus, vyle men, nocht onlie of the bas and cursest¹ sort amangs the peiple, as war the Preists of profan Jeroboam, bot maist dissolut and sklanderus in all thair lyff; be whase cairfulness in gathering upe the woll and milk, and cairlesnes in feiding of the floks, and evill exemple in all kynd of vyce, na mervell it is giff innumerable saulles drown in ignorance, perishe in thair sinnes, and live without God or religion.

“Therfor, now, I beseik yow, my breithring, rightlie to consider, and deiplye to pondir this mater: Whidder haid it bein better to refuse, and undertak the displeasure of an erthlie Prince, wha onlie hes powar ower the body, (and that na mair nather nor it pleases God,) and haiff esteimed all this warld but dirt and draff under your feit, in respect of his luiff and obedience, wha could haiff given yow again a houndrethe fauld in this lyff, and the lyff eternall to the guid?² Or to haiff consentit, and incurrit the hiche displeasure of Chryst Jesus, the grait Heavinlie King, wha, efter the bodie is slean, may cast bathe it and the saull in the fyre of hell; and the offence and detestation of all the godlie and fathfull for the schamfull denying of sa guid a Maister, betraying of the friedome of his kingdome, sclandering of his Kirk, and offering occasion to the adversars to triumphe and be incuragit.

“Again, I say, for God’s cause, and your awin salvation, enter in deiplye to wey and consider what yie haiff done, that the hy-nousnes of the fact may mak yow to abhorre your selves, and be unfeinytlye cast down thairfor. For haiff yie nocht be your hand wryt, the seall of your treuthe, bund your selves, as slaves, to the

¹ Base and coarsest.² Into the bargain, over and above, besides.

wicked appetit and affection of a blind godles Court, overflowing with all kynd of sine and impietie? and to a Bischope, O fy! to whom I can nocht giff a vicius epithet mair nor another, and I am sure a thowsand wald nocht express his vyces, as your selfs, and all the warld, is witnes? And that quhilk is warst of all, haiff yie nocht brought the libertie of the Spreit, and preatching of the Word of God, the dispensation wharof is concredit¹ unto yow, in maist abominable thraldome? Sa that yie dar nocht reprove vyce without exception of persones, nor pretche the treuthe frilie, as your God, your buik, and your conscience, teatches yow, and commands. For, dar yie now rebuk the contemners of God, and religion, and fathfull Ministers thair of, the blasphemers of God's nam and his treuthe; divellishe dissimulation, yea, open divelrie, perjurie, persecution, tyrannie, crewaltie, oppression, drunkennes, hurldome; scorning of God and man; ambition, avarice, flatterie, leing, braking of promise, tricking, taunting, deceaving, profanation of the Word of God, sacrilage, simonie, witchcraft, shamles obscenitie, vilanie, apostasie, and mensuaring² of that quhilk the mouthe hes professit, and publictly spoken and teatched, the hand hes often subscriyvit with the grait athe³ of the Lord maid and interponit thairin? seing your new erected Paprie, and, namlie, your famos Ordinar, the Archbischope, to whom yie haiff bund your obedience, is altogidder festered and overgean⁴ with tham.

"Now, as to that nam of obedience, quhilk is cravit in a fair and honest maner, to clok a maist filthie and dishonest mater, mister⁵ I to wryt anie thing to yow thairanent? for can yie understand or teatche anie uther thing thairanent nor this? Obedience, except it be in God, and according to his command, is na obedience, bot sin, rebellion, and disobedience, the quhilk is as the sin of witchcraft, wickednes, and ydolatrie befor God, as Samuel teatched King Saul, in his awin face. That quhilk man, following his awin judgment and ill affection, calles rebellion, treasone, and disobedience, is allowit befor God as dewtifull dewtie, guid obedience, and service: And contrar, was nocht Sydrach, Misach, and Abed-

¹ Entrusted.² Perjury.³ Oath.⁴ Overrun.⁵ Need.

nego, cast in the furnace be Nebugednezar, King of Babylon, for thair disobedience, in nocht falling down to worships his erected image? Was nocht Daniel cast in the den of lyons for disobedience, because he brak King Darius' godles law, in making his prayer thryse a day toward Jerusalem, and wald nocht giff sa mikle as a secreit consent to sett upe the King in God's stead? The gard of King Saul disobeyit him, commanding, be his awin mouthe, to slay the Preists of the Lord. Sa did his awin sone, guid Jonathan, and wald nocht bring in David, bot confortit him, and set him on his journey. The medwyffes, King Pharo, Ioiaha,¹ and the haill esteates of Juda, bludie Athalia, Lobna, a citie of the Levites, preists, the apostat King Amazia, and innumerable ma in Holie Scripture, whase doings, nevertheless, the Spreit of God commends, and as dew obedience to God and thair superiors, hes left tham inregistrat in his Holie Buik to be followit.

"In graitest humilitie and dewtifull reverence of that maist lawfull authoritie giffen be God to Kings and Magistrats, and yit in curage and bauldnes of spreit, for the glorie of my God and libertie of the Kingdome of Chryst, defaced, alas! and brought under vyll slaverie be the pernitiis flatterers of princes, wha, deifeing tham in thair conceattes, makes tham to tak unto tham absolut powar to do what they list, and trampe the Kirk of Chryst under futt, I will tak this proposition to defend against the best and maist lernit of thair courteours, court Bischopes and Ministers, provyding they disput be Scripture and guid reasone, and nocht be the Blaknes,² Spey Tour,³ gibet and maden,⁴ that to obey the King of Scotland, as he craves presentlie obedience according to his last acts of parliament, is treason against Chryst, and disobedience, yea, rebellion to his Word and command; and, thairfor, whasoever may stay and withstand him, be refusall of obedience, or uther wayes be ordinar and lawfull meanes of thair calling, and

¹ Probably this is meant to apply to Jehoahaz, or Jehoiakim.
in Blackness Castle.

² The Spey Tower of Perth.

³ Imprisonment
⁴ The gibbet or gallows, and the maiden, a sort of guillotine for beheading criminals, said to have been invented by the Earl of Morton,—himself the first who was beheaded by it.

does nocht, is a treator to his Majestie, countrey, and Kirk of Chryst, within the saming.

“ And lest yie, my breithring, or anie uther, sould tak this my plean schawing of the treuthe in an evill part, the Lord God of heavin is witnes to my conscience that I mein na contempe or disdean to his Grace's ather persone or lawfull autoritie, nather does this proceide of anie evill-will or desyre of revenge for anie wrang done to us; bot the Lord knawes, befor whom we walk, that the siches and sobbes of our dolorus and maist affectioned harts toward his weill and amendiment, is with teares powred out daylie for that effect; and whom I knaw assuredlie that all the godlie in Scotland and Eingland wald obey, love, and reverence above all fleche as thair awin naturall and born Prince, giff, leaving thir godles Counsallors and courses, he wald rewill in the feir of God, and establis the kingdome of Jesus Chryst according to his Word. Therfor, alas! my breithring, ye haiff, under the name of obedience, defylit your self with these crymes that Samuel convicted King Saull of, for nocht obeying the Word of the Lord. And the examples of God's servantes in thair feir of his grait Majestie, and constancie standing in his treuthe and obedience stoutlie, nochtwithstanding danger of lyff, yea, terrible torments, may be feirfull judges sett befor your conscience to condemne you, except yie repent. Peter and Jhone ar bathe be word and exemple crying unto you, That it had bein better to obey God nor man.

“ But, me thinks I heir sum of you lamenting and saying, It was weaknes and feiblenes of this freall nature that maid you do this thing. Trewlie, breithring, weaknes and infirmitie is naturall to flesche, and hes oftentimes maid the childring of God to slyde and fall, for sa did David in adulterie and murdour, Piter in the thriefauld denyall of his Maister, and the zealus Origin, of whase fall I speak befor. Wharfor, in that ceas onlie, the remeadie incontinent without delay is to be sought; for it is manlie, and of weaknes to fall, bot to ly still and sleipe in sine, without remorse or amendiment, it is the rod of reprobation. It is a thing maist feirfull to deny Chryst, but far mair nocht to confes him constantlie

agean unto the deathe. It is a horrible mater sa to sklander the Kirk of God, bot far mair to continow thairin, and nocht to repear and remove the sam. And, thairfor, I exhort you, deir breithring, maist earnestlie and tenderlie, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus, and admonise you, befor God, his Angelles, and haill Kirk, that yie pres¹ with speidie repentance till amend this miserable mis,² and repear sa mikle as can ly in you this bealfull brak. That yie meditat and cry, with David, that is, with the contrit sprit and broken hart of David in that 51 Psalme; yie go asyde, with Piter; yie lamentable cry out and invey against your selves, with Origine, and mak the streames of your bitter teares deleit and washe away that subscription, and the wound of your siches³ and sound of your sobbes, blaw abrod your repentance for that denyall of Chryst; and thairafter, constantlie confes him with Piter unto the deathe, and that spedelie, befor he cum in judgment, and deny you befor his heavinlie Father.

“ And, finalie, in conclusion, to remove bathe the publick sklander and wa⁴ pronuncit against sic wharby it comes, I sie nocht whow it can be don utherwayes, then giff yie com bauldlie to the King and Lords of Chacker again, and schaw tham whow yie haiff fallin throw weaknes, bot be God his powar ar rissin againe; and thair, be publick not and witnes takin, frie your selves from that subscription, and will the sam to be deleit, renuncing and detesting it planlie, and thairefter publictlie in your sermonds and be your declaration and retractation in wryt presented to the haill Kirk, and fathfull manifest the sam. Let tham do with stipend, benefice, and lyff it self what they list; yie will stik be Chryst, wha knawes what ye haiff neid of, and will provyde for yow sufficientlie, yie serving him in this lyff, and bring yow heirefter to his glorie in the lyff everlasting! The quhilk that yie may do, and thairefter constantlie stand unto the end, I sall earnestlie call to God for yow, to assist yow with his strong and Almighty Sprit for the glorie of his awin name, the reparation of the grait offence and sklander of his Kirk, and

¹ Press, strive.² Miss, loss.³ Sighs.⁴ Woe.

your joyfull receaving again in the number of Chryst's warioures and citiciners of his Kingdome, and Capteanes of his armie ; with whome fechting lawfullie in suffring heir, with him we salbe crownit with immortall glorie in the heavines, whar he leives and ringes with his Father for ever."

This Letter, with the conclusions and arguments befor mentioned, send hame, and going abroad, did mikle conforte the constant, and crab¹ theemie. Twa of our students in Theologie for copeing thair of, and sending to breithring, war fean to flie and com to me to Berwik ; Mr James Robertstone, a verie guid brother, now Minister of Dondie, and Mr Jhone Caldeleuche, whom I receavit gladlie, and wha efter certean moneths abyding with me at Berwik, we past southe togidder to Londone. Also an Wilyeam Erde, an extraordinar witnes steired upe be God ; wha being a masone of his craft till he was past twentie yeirs and married, lernit first of his wyff to reid Einglis, and taken with delyt of letters he him selff studeit the Latin, Greik, but specialie the Hebrew langage, sa that he haid his Byble als hamlie to him in Hebrew as anie uther langage : The quhilk being knawin to the Kirk, and the giftes he haid besyde, bothe of knowlage and utterance of divinitie, he was maid to leave his handie-craft, and tak him heallie till attend upon the Collage and exerceis ; whar he profited sa, that within few yeirs that he was callit and placed in the ministerie at the Kirk of St Cuthbert's, under the Castell wall of Edinbruche, and is now a notable man for uprightness and grait lerning and reidding. This brother, for just feir, cam away also, and abaid with me a space in Berwik. The cause of his feir was the apprehending of his fellow laborar, a grave and godlie brother, Mr Nicol Dalglaishe, keiping of him in clos pressone, and putting him till ane essaise,² of earnest and deliberat purpose to haiff execut him as a trator, onlie for the sight of a certean letter com from Mr Walter Balcanquall to his wyff, bot the saise wald nocht fyll him,³ wherat the Court was verie crabbit.

¹ Vex, annoy, enrage.

² Assise, inquest, or jury.

³ The assise would not convict him, or find him guilty. Acquittal was expressed by *clenging*, (cleansing.)

That worthie brother, and now ancient father in the Kirk, was verie evill handlit, and stude wonderfull constant.

That sam wintar to thir hard newes from our awin countrey be northe, cam unto us far harder newes from southe out of Londone, of the departour of Mr James Lawsone ther; wha, for giftes and estimation, was cheiff amangs the ministerie: For, efter my uncle Mr Andro, with the said Mr James and certean uther of the breithring, haid in the monethe of July visited the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and conferrit with the most godlie and lernit ther, retourning againe till Londone, partlie throw his travell and alteration of the eare, bot chieffie for the causes twichted befor of the behaviour of some of his awin flock, wha haid subscrivit a Letter¹ calling tham wolffes and hyrlings, Mr James, being a melancholian² of constitution, falls in a heavie disease, quhilk resolved in a melancolius dysenterie, quhilk be na meanes of medecin (whowbeit he haid ther a number of maist lerned and godlie) could be cured; bot efter dyvers monethes seiknes he died, speiking till his utter houre maist holilie to God's glorie, and confortablie till all the heirars; bot his deathe, and speitches, quhilk were manie and notable, I leave to tham wha war present. Bot verelie this was a grait lose and disharting amangs us, and haid undone divers of us, giff God by his word and Spreit of consolation haid nocht uphaldin us. His wyff (whom, for hir rare and maist sweit giftes of knowlage, devotion, tender and maist zealus love towards God, his servants, and all that loved the Lord Jesus Chryst, I can nocht of dewtie and conscience bot mak mention of, for a happie memorie to the posteritie) was in readines to go to him, and cam to Berwik even about the tyme of tha³ dolorus newes, wharof she knew na thing till she was by a convoy brought bak again to that maist godlie and comfortable hous to all the servands of God, Huttonhall. Bot, as ever persone in that estate, sche kythed the fruicts of trew Chris-

¹ "The copie of this Letter is amangs my scoralles." Note by Author on the margin of MS.

² A hypochondriac.

³ These.

tianitie, nocht onlie at that tyme, bot all the dayes of hir lyff to hir death, leiving as a trew weidow and relict of sic a housband, in fasting, prayer, meditation, and exerceise of the warks of mercie and love, instructing the ignorant, sweitlie admonising the offenders, confortng the afflicted, visiting the seik and diseased in body or mynd, and persevering in prayer with tham unto the end; sa that hir refreshings and pastyme was to tak peanes in these exerceises. Thus sche leived in Edinbruche sevin or aucht yeir efter our re-tourn, a remarkable mirroure of godlie weidowheid, and died with als grait mean and missing of the godlie in all degries, namlie¹ the pure, as anie woman that ever I knew. Sche was my speciall acquaintance and confort in Chryst, from the deathe of hir housband to hir lyve's end.

My wyff was at the sam tyme grait with chyld, neir hir birthe, and, heiring of Mr James' deathe, wha, by the comoun and publict respect, was to hir in affection a father, brought upe daylie in his hous and companie with his wyff, sche doollit and bursted² sa, I being in Newcastle with the Lords, that they war all in grait fear sche sould haiff parted with her birthe. Amangs whom, a godlie suddart, [named Francis Goodwin,] confortng hir, sayes, "Tak heid what yow do, Mistres Melvin, that yow becom nocht an unnaturall murderar of that quhilk is in your bellie, quhilk by appeirance is a man chyld; and yow knaw nocht if God may mak him to supplie a place in his Church againe!" Within a monethe thairefter sche was lichtar of a man chyld indeid, whom, be imitation of Josephe, I callit Ephraim, because God haid maid me fructfull in a strange land; praying God of his grace, nocht regarding my sinnes and unthankfulnes, to mak anie mean instrument in his Kirk. I can nocht expres the cair, kyndnes, and tender affection quhilk God kindlit in the harts of that peiple towards me, in the behalff of my wyff and chyld: For, certean I am, if all hir frinds and myn in Scotland haid bein about hir, it was nocht in thair powar to haiff used hir sa cairfullie, lovinglie, tenderlie, and diligatlie;³ and, namlie, I war

¹ Especially.² Mourned and sobbed, in such a manner.³ Delicately.

maist ingrat if I sould forget my guid, godlie, and maist courteus Lady, my Lady Wedringhton, wha wated on mair cairfullie then the maidwyff, and receavit him from the wombe in hir awin skirt, and finding him nocht livlie, maid hast to the fyre, and thrusting in her curshar,¹ brunt it, and helde to his naisthrilles,² wherby he quicned and kythed³ signes of lyff. This I sa particularlie sett down, partlie till extoll the cair and providence of God towards me, and partlie to move that chyld to sett him selff to the knowlage and service of that God wha thus brought him from the wombe. He was born the 15 day o Januar, in the yeir 1584-(1585.)

About the middes of Februar, after a grait humiliation and fast for all thir causes, and confort of the holie communion keipit at Newcastell, the noble men, partlie because they perceavit that thair lying neir the Border indangerit thair frinds, and partlie at the desyre of hir Majestie, past southe, and, efter they haid remanit about a monethe in Northwitche, they cam to Londone; and I returning to Berwik, as my calling requyrit, preparit my wyff and companie, and followed to Londone be water.

My guid Lady Wedringtoun wald neids detein my young sone, and haiff him in plege till my retourning, wha lykwayes, with our uther maist cairfull and loving frinds in Chryst, maid guid provision for our voyage. Mr Walter Balcanquall cam down from Londone, and, sending for his wyff, went in companie with us. We war in nomber about twoll persones passingers inbarkit about the beginning of Merche, bot be contrarie windes, with grait fascherie⁴ and seiknes, war put in in Tinmouthe, whar we ley sax dayes, and again lainching furthe, upon the fourt day we arryvit at Londone, whar, meitting with my uncle and his companie, we war nocht a lytle comforted.

M.D.LXXXV.

A lytle efter the Noble-men cam to Londone, and I entered againe to my awin charge, mikle helped and incuragit by my uncle,

¹ Kerchief.² Nostrils.³ Manifested, showed.⁴ Trouble.

whom the Noble-men drew to tham, and maid him thair domestic. Our tentationes then war verie grait, for be Ambassatour efter Ambassatour send to hir Majestie, first we war callit a grait stope bak from our frinds, quhilk maid tham and us bathe to tyne hart and almaist disappear;¹ bot syne it was earnestlie suted that we sould be put out of Eingland, and manie promises maid for that effect. Sa that, indeid, we luiked for na thing bot to be put from Eingland as Scotland; bot the Lord our God haid heirin a guid wark in drawing us neirar and neirar unto him, and making us knaw that he was to wourk that wark him selff for his awin glorie. And, thairfor, first in that simmer he send a pest,² quhilk past throw the principall townes, and raget till almaist utter vastation in the townes of Edinbruche, St Androis, St Jhonstoun, and Dondie, in sic sort that the comoun clamer of the peiple was against the Court. With this, sic utragius tyrannie was usit be Arran and his licentius, proude, impudent Lady, that all esteates mislykit and weiried at the sam. Thus God prepared the peiple at hame that simmer; and at the hervest, togidder with the raging pestilence inccessing mair and mair, namlie in Edinbruche, the Lord send sic tempest of wather and rean,³ that all began to cry, The Lord's hand wald nocht stey unto the tyme the Ministers of God and Noble-men war brought hame againe! The quhilk, when our frinds perceavit, they maid us advertisment; bot the difficultie was in purchasing of licence, quhilk our unfrinds,⁴ confederates with Arran, wald nocht suffer to be granted, till God provydit, in lyk maner, a motive for that, to wit, the slauchtar of the Lord Russell, Warden, at a day of Trewes,⁵ upon the Bordour. The quhilk, for all excuses could be maid, crabit⁶ sa the Quein, that sche licenced our Noble-men joyned with the Hamiltones, to return to thair frinds in Scotland. And sa, efter a verie earnest exerceise of humiliation keipit be our haill companie, at Westminster, wharin manie teares war powred out befor the Lord, and the hartes of all weill prepared, about the beginning of

¹ Lose heart, and almost despair.
weather and rain.

⁴ Enemies.

² Plague, pestilence.

³ Tempest of

⁵ A Warden-Raid, or "day of Trew."

⁶ Vexed, angered.

October, the Erles of Angus and Mar, with the Maistir of Glames, and thair companies, past from Londone, and with thame my uncle Mr Andro, Mr Patrik Galloway, and Mr Walter Balcanquall, wha coming to the Bordour, the Lord Hamilton and those that war at Berwik cam to tham; and as they enterit in the countrey, ther resorted unto tham without delay the haill Bordours, Est and Wast, conducted by thair Lords of Hume, Bodwell, and Maxwell, and merching fordwart with diligence cam to St Ninian's Kirk, a myll from Sterling, upon the first day of November, and ther camped to the number of ten thowsand horsmen. In this mean tyme, proclamations with all diligence was send athort the countrey, and double this number war conveyit within the town of Stirling, but nocht halff sa resolut and weill harted to fecht in the quarrell as our men war. Sa, to be schort, on the morn soone, be brak of day, they unbesett¹ the town, and with grait quietnes and unresistable courage ministred be God, scaled and clam ower the walles. A lytle resistance was maid be Captean James and Coronell Stewart be the space of twa houres, bot seing the courage of the uther they schrank bak, and reteiring, gaiff libertie to all to enter and win the town. Captean James, haiffing in his poutche the key of the brig,² fled away that gett³ incontinent: The rest, viz., Montrose, Craford, Glencarn, Aroll, and Colonell Steward, reteired to the Castell, whar the King was; but our folks, persuing hatlie, cam all to the Castell hill, and clos under foresnout of the Blokhous planted thair standars and campe.

The King, perceaving that he was nocht able to keipe the Castell, and knawing that the peiple's affection was towards these Noblemen and Ministers, resolved to Parliament, and send furthe unto our Lords the Secretar and Justice-Clark, requyring of tham:—

First, That his lyff, honour, and esteat, might be preservit.

Secondlie, That the lives of Montrose, Craford, and Coronell Steward, sould be sparit.

Thridlie, That all maters sould be transacted peacablie. And,

¹ Surrounded.

² In his pocket the key of the bridge.

³ Way, road.

upon these conditiones, offerit him selff to be governed be thair advys and counsall in tyme coming.

The Noble-men answered to the King's messengers :—

That, for the First, the God of Heavin knew that they haid never anie uther intention than to preserve his Majestie's persone, esteat, and dignitie ; and to delyver his Majestie from the handes of sic, wha, under pretext of his name and authoritie, haid sa creuallie opprest the Kirk and Comoun-weill, and haid exponed to danger bathe his Majestie's lyff and croun : That, haiffing the feir of God befor thair eis, they war com to do his Majestie all dewtie and service, and to schaw tham selves fathfull and obedient subjects, as they haid done of befor ; exposing tham selves to the violence of sic as befor tyme faught with his mother against him with displayed baner, to depryve him of his esteat and honour, wha, nochtwithstanding, haid bein of leat, at least thair successours in that cause, admitted to the handling of all his effeares.

As to the Second, seing the persones befor named, whase lives war desyrit to be sparit, haid troublet the haill countrey, and bein instruments of sic confusion as the lyk haid nocht bein hard nor sein in Scotland, they could do na les for his Majestie's honour, and affection they bure to thair countrey, then seik the meanes wharby they might be put in the hands of Justice, to be used as they haid demerit.

As to the Thride, they tham selves declarit to the King, that they maid humble supplication to his Hienes, that he him selff sould tak ordour and sie all things to pas, and be wrought pacible in an oportune and convenient tyme, to the grait contentment of all his guid subjects ; and for that effect promised all ayde and assistance : protesting that they approched nocht to his Majestie in armes, and with sic companies, bot be constraint for saveing of thair lyves and leivings from the tyrannie of sic as sought thair ruine and utter wrak.

The King's messingers being departed, the Noble-men send

in lyk maner unto the King, requyring of his Majestie thrie things :

First, That the King sould giff his consent to reform the corruptionnes and abbusses that war crouppen within the Kirk and Comoun-weill, be the evill government of tham wha haid abbusit his autoritie ; and thairfor he wald allow as lawfull and guid service thair proceedings in seiking the said reformation, and for that cause that his Majestie wald subscrivye the schort declaration quhilk they haid formed of thair cause ; and that for thair graitte assurance, that the strainthes and Castells quhilk the troublers of the esteat haid in thair handes sould be delyvered unto tham, to be keipit be sic as the Esteattes of the Realme thought meit.

Secondlie, That the said troublers of the Esteat sould be giffen in thair keeping, to be presented to justice.

And, Last, That the King's Gard might be changit, and an uther chosin of the fathfull, modest, and sobre men, under sic a Captean and Commander as the Noble-men sould nam.

All these things wer granted. The Lord Hamilton maid Captean of Dumbartan ; the Lard of Cowdounknowes of Edinbruche, and Stirling restored to the Erle of Mar ; and the Maister of Glames maid Captean of the Garde. In end a Parliament was proclaimed to be haldin at Linlithgow, the tent of December following, for restoring again of Noble-men, Ministers, and all.

The King receavit all the Noble-men in favour, and granted tham what they wald ask for ther particular. Bot concerning the maters of the Kirk, that twitched his honour sa, that he wald nocht be controlled thairin, nor grant to na thing bot efter his pleasour ; and sa tuk up a heiche humor against all the guid breithring, partlie because he perceavit that the Noble-men war nocht verie earnest in the maters, getting their awin turnes done, as, indeed, (except the guid Erle of Angus, to whase hart it was a continwall grieff that he could nocht get concurrance,) ther was lytle or small cear amangs tham thair of, for all the vowes and fair promises maid to God and his servants, the quhilk the Lord in mercie mak them to tak till hart in tyme and repent, befor the last come, quhilk can nocht, in

his just judgment, bot be mair feirfull nor the first ; partlie because he estimed the Kirk to be the cheiff cause of his controlment in his proceedings first and last, the discipline wharof he could na wayes lyk, *ex metu Herodiano et Jeroboamino*.

About the end of November, warning was maid, according to the ordour of the Kirk be the last Moderator, athort the countrey to the breithring, to convey in Generall Assemblie, conforme to custome befor the Parliament at Dumfermling, na uther meit town being frie of the pest. The breithring frequentlie¹ furthe of all partes resorting thither. The portes of the town war closit upon tham be the Provest for the tyme, the Lard of Pitfirren, alleaging he haid the King's expres command sa to do. Therfor the breithring, comending that wrang to God, the righteus Judge, convenit sa monie as [they] might in the fields, and conforting them selves mutualie in God, apointed to meit in Linlithgow a certean dayes befor the Parliament. Bot God, within a few yeirs, payit that Lard and Provest his hyre for that piece of service, when, for the halding out of his servantes from keiping his Assemblie in that town, he maid his awin hous to spew him out: For a² day, in the morning, he was fund fallen out of a window of his awin hous of Pitfirren, thrie or four hous [stories?] hight, wither be a melancolius disappear casting him selff, or be the violence of unkynd ghests ludgit within, God knawes ; for, being taken up, his speitche was nocht sa sensible as to declar it, bot within few hours efter deit.

The newes of the taking of Stirling was at the Court of Eingland and in Londone within aught and fourtie houres ; for it being done on Tysday in the morning, on the Furisday³ thairefter Mr Robert Bowes tauld us, and on the Fredday it was comoun in the mouthes of all Londone. At the quhilk we graithimlie⁴ rejoyising in the soveran guidnes and mercie of our God, and resorting togidder to steir us up mutualie to thankfulnes : Sa, with all conveni-

¹ In numbers, numerously.² One.³ Thursday.⁴ "Graittumlie," greatly.

ent diligence we maid for the jorney hame ower ;¹ in the quhilk, as in going, sa in returning, we fund the bountifull and gratius hand of our God with us, sa that we haid occasion divers tymes to sing unto the praise of our God that 126 Psalme, with manie ma, but namlie at our coming to Anwik on the second Sabathe of our jorney. Ther we rested, and war called to dinner be Sir Jhone Fostar, Lord Warden, wha, at mides of dinner, began bathe to glorifie God in recompting what he haid wrought already, and to prophesie concerning the stay of foull wather and of the pestilence, whowsone all the Ministers of God war brought ham againe ; as, indeid, it was marked and found within a monethe, that we war estonished to heir the mouthe of a warldlie civill man sa opened to speak out the woundarfull warkes and prases of God, wrought for us. We war in companie a nine or ten horses, and fand him the gratius God of the land in retourning, as we fund him of the sies in our passage southwart.

Coming in Scotland, I left my wyff, weirie of sa lang a jorney, to rest at Hutonhall, in companie with the relict of Mr James Lawsonsone, guid, sweit, and godlie Janet Guthrie, and with Mr Robert Durie tuk jorney to Linlithgow to the Parliament, swalleing upe² be hope, inquencheable joy of reformation of all things amiss, and grait welcoming with manie guid-morrowes. But as at our going out of the countrey, we knew nor saw na thing that might rease us in anie grait hope of provision or comfort, and yit, by the guid providence of our God, we fand far beyond expectation ; sa, be the contrar, at our retourning, loking for all guid and comfortable, we fund na thing les.

For, first, ryding from Hadington to Smeton, reposing on our gyde, we went fordwart, whowbeit under night, far, bot when we war in graittest danger of coll-pittes and sinks, the darknes was sa grait, that our gyd knew nocht whar he was, nor whow to gyde ;

¹ Homewards.—“ My individuus comes sen syne, and maist sure and fathfull brother and frind, Mr Robert Dury, was with me, wha haid a monethe or twa of befor com from the Rotchell to London to us.” Margin of MS.

² Swelling, huoyed up.

sa that iff God haid nocht gydet us, we haid bein lyk Thales, wha compased the erthe, and dyed in a draw-well at his awin dur ! When we haid spent a guid part of the night, at last ane of our hors rash-ed on his nes¹ upon a gevill² of a hous ; bot whither it was hous, or stak, or heuche, we knew nocht, nather saw hors or man, na nocht our awin finger-end, till ane lightand down grapes ellanges,³ and finds a dur, and chapping⁴ we gat sum folks that tauld us we war in Trenent, fra the quhilk conducting⁵ a gyde, with a lantern knit to his hors-teall to schaw us the way, with grait fascherie⁶ throw the Coll-hors-gett we cam to Smeton. On the morn we maid hast, and, coming to Lestarik,⁷ disjoned,⁸ and about alleavin hours⁹ cam ryding in at the Water-gett of the Abbay, upe throw the Canow-Gett, and red in at the Nether-bow, throw the grait streit of Edinbruche to the Wast Port, in all the quhilk way we saw nocht thrie persones, sa that I miskend¹⁰ Edinbruche, and almost forgot that ever I haid sein sic a town. About evein we cam to Lithgow, to a number of heavie and greived breither, and a miserable vyll presone, the lyk wharof I was never in all my dayes.

The occasion of the breithring's greiff was, that they war out of hope to gett anie thing undone at that Parliament, quhilk was done at the Parliament of the 1584 ; and that because the King haid sett him selff dispytfullie against the Kirk, and these in speciall wha haid bein with the Lords ; namlie, my uncle, Mr Andro, wha haid bein verie quik and plean with the King divers dayes. And as for the Noble-men, they required that, first, they might be sat-telit in thair rouses,¹¹ and syne¹² wald do aneuche ; bot it was tauld them, that that wald bathe weaken and scham tham and thair cause with God and man. Yit, in effect, the guid breithring war left and deserted be tham, and behoved to bear thair reproches that wald do na thing for Chryst. But by this, a heavier cause of greiff was giffen by a bitter invecton that Mr Crag maid against

¹ Nose.² Gable.³ Alongst.⁴ Knocking.⁵ Hiring.⁶ Trouble.⁷ Restalrig, near Edinburgh.⁸ Breakfasted.⁹ Eleven o'clock.¹⁰ Forgot, knew not.¹¹ Settled in their situations or livings.¹² Then.

us befor the King and haill Lords of Parliament, steired upe, as he alleadgit, be a sermont that James Gipsone haid maid, in the pulpit of Edinbruche, against the Subscriiving Ministers, of whom Mr Crag was the cheiff; sa that ther was the seid of a feirfull schisme, giff God, be the meanes of patient and wyse breithring, haid nocht born down the saming¹ at the nixt Assemblie. Togidder with this, the thrang of the town was sa grait, that we haid na confort of meit, drink, or ludging, bot sa evill and miserable, and thairwith sa extream deir, that we war rather brought from wealthe, ease, and libertie, and cast in a wretched foull pressone, nor from exyll till² our native countrey. Yit the conscience of our cause and service of Chryst upheld us, and maid us to keipe togidder, in a deceyt house, that nather helde out wind nor weit, with confort furnesit be the mightie Confortar, the space of ten dayes or fyftein, till the Parliament endit; efter the quhilk also I was constreanit to tarie uther ten, partlie to gett our Letters of Restitution exped, and partlie for my hors, whom, for want of stabling, the first night I founder in bathe the twa former feit,³ to my grait los.

Efter divers hatt, rouche, and maist scharpe reasonings, haid betwix the King and my uncle, Mr Andro, in end the King desyrit us to giff in, in wrait, what we haid to say against the actes of parliament maid in anno 1584. Upon the quhilk we formed and gaiff in to his Majestie thir Animadversiones following :

ANIMADVERSIONS OF OFFENCES CONCEAIVED UPON THE ACTES OF PARLIAMENT MAID IN THE YEIR 1584, IN THE MONETHE OF MAY, PRESENTED BE THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE KIRK TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE AT THE PARLIAMENT OF LINLITHGOW, IN DECEMBER, 1585.

“ In the First Act, it is thought a grait impearing⁴ of the libertie of the trew Kirk, in sa far as na thing thairby is granted to the

¹ Same. ² Then from exile to. ³ I foundered in both the fore-feet. ⁴ Impaired.

sam, bot the libertie of preatching and ministration of sacraments; seing the powar of binding and lowsing, quhilk is called the powar of the keyes of the kingdom of heavin, consistes nocht onlie in these pointis, bot also in judgment, jurisdiction, and removing of offences out of the Kirk of God, and excommunication to be pronounced against the disobedient be tham that ar office-bearers within the sam: And sa the haill discipline is left out. And this act restrictes the libertie granted be uther actes of Parliament of befor, concerning discipline and correction of maners, quhilk war establissed be a law in the first yeir of your Majestie's reing. Our warrands of the Word of God for this part of the libertie of the Kirk we ar to bring furthe when your Majestie pleases.

"As concerning the Second Act, the narration thair of apeires to be sklanders against sum of the Ministerie, quhilk we wald wis to be reformed, or uther wayes conceaved, except the treuthe thair of war veriefed. And, as to the substance of the act it self, it attributes unto your Majestie a soverane powar of judgment, nocht onlie upon the persones of all your subjects, but also in all maters, wherin they, or anie of them, salbe apprehendit, summoned, or chargit, &c.: Quhilk appeires to be verie strange, the lyk wharof we heir nocht to haiff bein practised in anie Christian comounwelthe, and can nocht stand with the Word of God. For, although the persones of men ar subject to your Majestie and Civill Judges, when they offend against your lawes, yit in maters mere Ecclesiasticall, and concerning conscience, na Christian Prince can justlie clame, nor ever clomit, to him self sic powar to judge, seing the Prince in that behalff is bot a member of the Kirk, and Jesus Chryst onlie the Head, wha onlie hes powar to giff lawes in maters of conscience. And sa said the godlie Ambrose, '*Imperator bonus intra Ecclesiam non supra Ecclesiam est.*' And to confound the Jurisdictiones Civill and Ecclesiasticall is that thing wherin all men of guid judgment haiff justlie fund fault with the Pape of Rome, wha clames to him self the powar of bothe the swords, quhilk is als grait a fault to a Civill Magistrat till acclam or usurpe, and specialie to judge upon the doctrine, errours, and heresies, he nocht be

ing placed in Ecclesiasticall function to interpret the Scriptures. The warrands heirowt out of the Word of God we ar lykwayes readie to bring furthe.

“Anent the Thrid Act, it appeires to be obscure, bot yit the effect thair of to tend to this, That nane desyre alteration of the form or custome of the conveyeing of the Esteats in Parliament, as sum hes sought the sam to be innovat. Sir, we understand that the ancient libertie of the said Thrie Esteates is lovable and ancient; bot lykwayes it is of treuthe that amangs uther corruptionnes that war in tym of Papistrie, the Ecclesiasticall Esteat was corrupted, and apointed to be of sic persones wha haid na lawfull function in the Kirk of God, and specialie aught nocht to haiff place, Religion being reformed within this realme; we mein of Bischopes, Abbots, and sic lyk Popishe Prelacies, in consideration that be Actes of Parliament maid of befor, all authoritie and jurisdiction of the Pape of Rome, and of uthers flowing from him, nocht agrieable to the Word of God, is abolisshed within this realme. Therfor, we think in our conscience, and haiff oft suted it of your Majestie, that nan should vot in Parliament in nam of the Esteat of the Kirk bot they that haiff thair calling of God, and ar constitut in Ecclesiasticall office and function according to his Word; and thairfor discreit Commissionars, of the maist lernit bathe in the law of God and of the countrey, being of the function of the Ministerie, or Eldars of the Kirk, to represent that esteat at whase mouthe the law aught to be requyrit, namlie, in Ecclesiasticall maters; and it is nocht the grait rents or promotion to grait benefices, nor yit the dignitie of kinred or blood, that caries with it all knowlage or judgment, bot uther men, wha ar coumpted of inferiour rank to the judgment of the warld, may preveall thairin. And ther is na inconvenient that Commissionars may be send fra the Kirk, representing the Thrid Esteat, alsweill as from the Burrowes, to haiff vott in Parliament. Therfor, we humblie desyre your Majestie to declar the said act, and deny nocht unto us that libertie that God's Word and the lawes of the countrey maid of befor, and æquitie and reasone in this behalff, craves.

“As concerning the Fourt Act, the tytyle thairrof is discharging all Jurisdictiones and Judgments nocht approved be Parliament, and all Assemblies and Conventionnes without your Majestie's speciall licens and commandiment. And, in the narrative, it appeires ther is a sklanderus report reased upon the Kirk and Office-bearers within the sam, for using certean Jurisdictiones nocht approved be the lawes of the realm, and alleaging ane Act maid in the dayes of your Hienes grandschir, that all the lieges aucht to be rewled be the comoun lawes of the realm, and be na uther lawes. And, thairfor, the said act discharges all Judgments and Jurisdictiones, spirituall or temporall, accustomed to be used thir xxv. yeirs bypast, nocht approved be your Hienes and Esteats in Parliament, with thretning of execution upon all persones that uses or obeyes the sam, as usurpers and contemnners of your Hienes authoritie, and for convocation of your Hienes lieges.

“Sir, we maist humblie crave your Hienes mynd to be farder declared heirin, for it appeires to us to be verie strange, and a thing that can nocht stand with the libertie granted be Jesus Chryst to his Kirk, and tham that bear function and office within the sam. And, first, as to the Act of King James the Fourt, your Hienes grandschir, we say, that the sam act appeires pleanlie to mean of the Civill Jurisdiction, quhilk he and his predecessours and successours may clam within this realme be thair Royall powar, and nocht of the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction; for that law was maid against tham of the Ylles, that used the King of Denmark's lawes in civill maters; and, in your grandschir's dayes, ther was an uther Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction within this realme, efter the maner of Papistrie, used be tham that war called Kirkmen, unto the dayes of Reformation of Relligion, as hes bein used continualie sen that tyme, with quhilk na fault was fund. And it is of treuthe that ther is a Spirituall Jurisdiction granted to the Kirk of God be his Word, (quhilk makes na derogation to the Jurisdiction of erthlie Princes,) wherof the Office-bearers within the Kirk in this realm hes bein in peaceable possession and use thir xxiiij. yeirs bypast with the mair, wherof followed na trouble, bot grait quietnes to the Kirk and

Comoun-welthe. And ther has bein mair trouble in the Ecclesiastical Esteat within thir twa yeirs last bypast, nor ever was sen the Relligion was reformed within this countrey. Alwayes we offer us to prove, be guid warrands of the Word of God, that it is lawfull to the Ecclesiastical Esteat to convocat Assemblies, and to hauld the sam, and till apoint an ordour, place, and tyme, for conveyeing of the sam, to treat upon sic maters as concernes the Kirk's effeares, quhilk na wayes impears your Majestie's civill and royall jurisdiction, bot rather fortifies and decorees the sam. Nocht denying, in the mean tyme, bot it is lawfull to your Majestie and Esteates, when anie extraordinar necessitie sall requyre, to call the members and Office-bearers within the Kirk, in few or graitter number, and cause tham be conveyed to resolve upon sic things as concernes thair esteat, and necessitie of the tyme. And fordar, concerning the Generall Assemblies of the Kirk, ther is an Act in the first yeir of your Hienes reing, ratefeing the autoritie thairrof, and decerning appellationes to be devolvit thairto, as to the last judgment of maters concerning the Kirk. The sam argument we use concerning uther Assemblies, alsweill particular, and of the Presbyteries, as Provincially, be the paritie of reasone and guid grounds of the Word of God, quhilk we offer us to schaw. Beseikand your Majestie to reform, or repear and qualefie this act according thairto; for, if it sall stand in the form that it is, nocht onlie Conventiones for discipline, bot also for heiring of the Word, wilbe thairby dischargit.

"As to the Fyft Act, we allow weill with our hartes, that all they that ar planted in the function of the Ministerie, if they commit onie offence worthie of deprivation, they be depyryt bathe of thair functiones and reveueus, quhilk they possess for using the sam. Bot, to mak exception of persones, that they quhilk haiff vott in Parliament sall nocht be controllit in that behalff, nor the lyk judgment execut upon tham, we can nocht understand whow that can agrie with reasone and guid lawes, seing we ar able to verifie the maist part of tham in that esteat to be mair sklanderus, and wordy to be deprived bathe of thair function and benefice then anie uther. And, as to the votting in Parliament, who they aucht to be that

sould haiff place ther, we haiff declarit our judgment of befor. Therfor, this act appeires to mak exception of persones, quhilk can nocht weill stand be the law of God or man. As to the causes of deprivation, it requyres also a conference, quhilk war ower lang now to put in wrait to your Majestie. Therfor please your Hienes also till advys better heirupon, and qualesie the sam.

"Now, for the Saxt Act, the dytter¹ thair of apeires to be verie cairfull that Ministers sall await upon thair function and office, and sall use na uther function, judgment, or office, that may abstract tham thairfra. Giff it be simple meined, the act is verie guid. Bot, with your Majestie's licens, they ar verie far in the wrang to your Hienes that wald burding you with all function and jurisdiction bathe in Civill and Ecclesiasticall maters, being bot a² persone, and mikle les³ able to discharge nor⁴ a simple Minister of a Kirk to discharge his cure. And, fordar, seing the sam acte, and uther actes of this Parliament, attributes Jurisdiction to Bischopes over manie kirks, and to be Judges in Ecclesiasticall causes also, they ar far mair unmeit to discharge tham selves thair of nor a simple Minister that hes onlie a flok or kirk, and, peradventure, an colleg with him in the sam. And, fordar, in sa far as the Ecclesiasticall Esteat is an of the Thrie Esteates in Parliament, and as we ar able to prove the Office-bearers and Ministers in the Kirk aught to represent the said Esteat, it can nocht weill stand that all Judicators sould be taken from tham, seing it is the Supream Judicator in this realme, wherin bathe Civill and Criminall causes ar decydit; and, thairfor, to tak away this judgment from tham that ar of the Ecclesiasticall function it is verie hard, and can nocht weill stand with the libertie granted to the Kirk of ancient tyme. As to the uther Civill Judgments that may abstract Ministers from thair cure, we think they aucht nocht to mell⁵ thairwithe, bot sa far as they ar called lawfullie by the Prince, and ar able to discharge the sam.⁶

¹ Inditer, the person who framed or drew up.

² One.

³ Much less.

⁴ Than.

⁵ Meddle, interfere.

⁶ "Notandum, That Mr Robert Pont penned this Animadversion, and wald haiff it thus in, by [*i. e.* against or contrary to]

"Passing ower the rest of the Actes, as nocht pertaining to the Kirk, till we com to the Thretteint, in the quhilk the first yeir's fruits of all benefices is decernit to be taken to your Hienes' use and your Gard, na provision being maid for the Ministers that serves whar the benefice lyes; and the first yeir's fruits war never cravit within Prelacies befor this Act. And also a grait yeirly taxation is leyd upon the benefices, as appeires, bathe grait and small, besydes the thrids. Remedie wald thairfor be provydit be your Majestie whow the Kirks may be served sufficientlie, and the Ministers nocht disappointed of thair stipends; for the reveneus of the Kirk ar already sa diminished, that although new impositiones be nocht leyd thairupon, it is difficill to keipe anie ordour within the Kirk, quhilk mikle mair salbe impossible, if they be farder diminishit. And as to the Munks' portiones, it wald be a godlie ordinance to your Majestie till apoint the sam, or els a guid part thairof, for Bursares in Collages, as sum tyme it was proponit and halffie grantit.

"Sa, passing to the Twentie Act: The sam giffes commission to Patrik, called Archbischope of St Androis, and uther Bischopes, or sic as your Majestie sall constitut Judges in Ecclesiasticall causes, nocht specifeing of what estate they sould be, Ecclesiasticall or Civill; and siclyk mention is maid of sum Commissioners in the Saxt Act, to quhilk Commissioners powar is granted to put ordour to all maters and causes Ecclesiasticall, visit the Kirks and stat of the Ministrie, reform Collages, receive Presentationes, and they onlie giff Collationnes upon benefices, and that Commissiones sould be extendit heirupon, under your Hienes Grait Seall; conform to that quhilk diverse Commissiones ar direct, with powar to Bischopes alleanerlie, in thair awin persones, without anie assessours or assistars, and, namlie, to the Archbischope of St Androis, within his haill diocese, or to anie his deputes and commissioners under him; with powar also to Depose Ministers, quhilk is nocht contained in the act, and lykwayes to Place and Displace Maisters of

the judgment of my uncle, Mr Andro, myne, and uthers; wha haid bein upon the Session, and it is of opinion yit that sa is lawful." Margin of MS.

Collages, attoure the tennour of the act. Sir, to speak our consciences planlie concerning this act, we suppose your Majestie be of guid mynde that the sam sall continow na langer nor this present Parliament, bot sall allutterlie¹ be dischargit; for sa it is contained in the act it self, in the end thair of, in expres termes, wharbe we think your Majestie and Esteates war of mynd it sould nocht continow when it was first maid.

“And, indeid, giff it sould continow, manie and grait inconvenients sould of necessitie follow to the Kirk of Jesus Chryst and estate thair of. For, first, to devolve that powar in a manes hand, altho he wer never sa wyse, lerned, and godlie, to do all things in the Kirk at his awin pleasure and authoritie, be him self allanerlie,² or his deputs, takes away that libertie and guid ordour quhilk the Sprit of God, be the mouthe of Paull, willes to be in the Kirk, and wharof we haiff manie uther warrands into God's Word; for it aperteines to the Ecclesiasticall Senat, and nocht to anie a man, to do those things. Nather is it a civill thing, and to be committed to a Civill Magistrat, or to whome they please, to govern the Hous of God, quhilk is his Kirk, and can haiff na exemple of anie uncorrupt age or persone. Therfor, we suppon your Majestie will clam no fordar to the sam, nor yit suffer sic men to abbuse the Kirk in that sort. And, as to uther Judges to be constitut in Ecclesiasticall causes be your Majestie, nocht specifeing of what estate they sould be, Civill or Ecclesiastik, that is indeid till use the powar of bathe the swords, quhilk all men of guid judgment hes damnit³ in the Pape. Sir, we ceas to mak fordar discourse upon this act, or to declar the qualities of tham to whom sic Commissiones ar giffen, because we suppose your Majestie will willinglie reforme and abrogat allutterlie that act.”

ANENT THE ACTS NOCHT IMPRENTED.

“SIR, We find amangs these Acts nocht imprented, the Act an-

¹ Entirely, altogether.

² Only, alone.

³ Condemned.

nulling the Excommunication of Mr Robert Mongumery, wherin your Majestie takes authoritie with your Esteates in Parliament, to mell¹ with that thing, quhilk can haiff na exemple that anie Prince ever melled with sen the first planting of the Relligion of Jesus Chryst. To pronounce excommunication upon impenitent sinners, or to absolve tham thairfra, or to decern the saming effectuell, or nocht effectuell, can na mair pertain to Prince, or anie Civill Magistrat, nor to preatche the Word of God, and ministrat Sacraments, for they ar bathe in lyk maner committed be Chryst, our Maister, to the trew Office-bearers within his Kirk, when, as he said, '*Dic ecclesie*,' &c. Therfor, amangs all uther things, we can nocht mervell a lytle wha sould be sa bauld to put in your Majestie's head till usurpe that powar, or mell thairwith, seing, for the lyk fact, Uzzia, the King of Juda, was sa terrible plagget,² and his hail land schaken. God forgiff tham that wald sa jeoperd your Hienes, without respect of conscience, or the feir of God. We beseik your Majestie to revok this, and mell na fordar thairwith, as a thing nocht pertaining to your office, or anie Civill Magistrat.

"Ther is an uther act, amangs the nocht imprented, concerning the payment of the Ministers' stipends, of the quhilk we can speak na thing, because we want the copie of it; beseikand your Majestie to giff commandiment to the Clark of Registrar that we may haiff, and giff our reasones in against it, giff neid beis."

THE SUPPLICATIONE.

"SIR, We haiff, in the feir of God, at your Majestie's command, as schortnes of tyme wald suffer, giffen our Animadversiones upon the lait actes of Parliament, May 1584, beseikand your Majestie to bear with our langage, if in anie part it be nocht sa perfytted and courtlie as some men wald wis, for we tend onlie unto the end of these things wherof we war in conference with your Grace, to open

¹ Meddle, interfere.

² Plagued.

tham upe simplie and planlie ; and to speak the treuthe in our conscience, (for it is nocht our dewtie to dissemble with your Grace,) when we haiff perused and read these actes ower and ower againe, sa diligentlie as we can, we can nocht think in our judgment whow the sam can stand as they ar formed, or whow anie interpretation that can be maid thairupone, unles it was to contein contradiction, quhilk is an uncomlie thing in making or setting out of lawes : for the law it self sayes, 'They that may speak planlie in making of lawes, contracts, or anie sic thing, and speaks obscurlie and ambiguouslie, sic contracts and lawes ar to be exponed against the maker or former thairrof, *quia potuerunt apertius dicere.*' Therfor, saving the honors of your Majestie and your Esteates, we think it mair comlie to place new, reformed, and plean lawes in ther roum nor till interpret these quhilk can nocht be weill interpret, in anie guid sence. We trust your Majestie will tak this our simple meining in a good part, and do that quhilk is maist meit according thairto. The Lord grant your Majestie the sprit of trew and upright judgment. AMEN."

"There is a thing fordar, quhilk in maist humble maner we crave of your Majestie, that it be provydit be Act of Parliament, That lykas your Hienes is to restore tham of the Nobilitie to thair honours and leivings, sa your Majestie will restore the Kirk of God, and Ministerie thairrof, to thair former possessiones, alsweill in discipline, as thair leivings, rouses, and offices, fra the quhilk they war displaced be occasion of the saids actes, or anie thing following thairupon ; and to thair stipends, alsweill bygane as to cum, seing a grait part thairrof remeanes as yit on-takin upe."

Thir Animadversiones and Supplication, penned af-hand, because of want of all commoditie, and presented to his Majestie be us, the King tuk pean him selff, be the space of four and twentie houres, to tak him to his cabinet ; and, withe his awin hand, wrot and penned his Declaration following, word be word :

THE KING'S DECLARATION AND INTERPRETATION OF HIS ACTES OF
PARLIAMENT SET FURTHER.

Nam ejus est explicare, cujus est condere.

"THE First [Act] makes onlie mention of the pretching of the Word and Sacraments, nocht thairby to abrogat anie guid fardar Polecie or Jurisdiction in the Kirk, bot allanerlie¹ to remit a part thair of to the actes insewing; and the maist quhilk as yit is unaggreit upon or concludit, I entend, God willing, to cause to be perfyted be a godlie Generall Assemblie of Bischopes, Ministers, and uther godlie and lerned, *Imperatore presidente*; and then sall the act be maid mair ample, according to the conclusion aggreit upon tham, bathe in Polecie and Jurisdiction.

"The Second Act hes twa parts, an narrative and a charge. The narrative hes twa partes; an, affirming that sum of your vocation haid appetit fra me, as nocht being thair Judge ordinar. I dout nocht your selves will na wayes deny this, sen sum of your selves did it, and I dout be yit skarse far from it. The uther part makes mention of the treasonable, seditius, and contumelious speitches uttered be sum of your calling, in pulpit, against me and my progenitors. This part lykwayes can nocht weill be denyit, sen it is mair nor evident that it hes bein the maist part of sum Ministers' exerceis thir four or fyve yeirs past. Allwayes,² whowsoone the hail Ministers of Scotland sall mend thair maners, in this point, the forsaid act salbe rescindet. As to the second part of the Act, it conteneis a charge that nane, being summoned or accused be me, sall declyne my judgment, in respect I am declarit and confirmed Judge be the Parliament over all persones within this realme, in all causes that they salbe apprehendit or summoned for; and in the lyne end it sayes, that nane sall declyne my judgment in the premisses. Now, say I, and declares, (quhilk declaration salbe als authentik as the

¹ Only.

² Nevertheless.

Act it self,) that I, for my part, sall never, nather my posteritie, aucht ever cite, sumond, or apprehend, anie Pastour or Preatchour for maters of doctrine in relligion, salvation, heresies, or trew interpretation of the Scripture; bot according to my first Act, quhilk confirms the libertie of preching the Word, ministration of the Sacraments, I avow the sam to be a mater mere Ecclesiasticall, and altogidder impertinent to my calling; thairfor never sall I, nor never aucht they, I mein my posteritie, acclame anie powar or jurisdiction in the forsaid.

"The Thrid Act is sa reasonable and necessar, that it neids na declaring nor explication, except onlie this, that my Bischopes, quhilk ar ane of the Thrie Esteates, sall haiff powar, als far as God's Word and exemple of the Primitive Kirk will permit, and nocht according to that man of sine, his abominable abuses and corruptions. But I can nocht aneuche wounder whar yie fund that rewll or exemple, ather in God's Word or anie Reformed Kirk, that sum Ministers, be commission of the rest, aught to be an of the Esteates in Parliament! Weill, God purge your sprits from ambition and uther indecent affectiones for your calling, and giff you grace to teatche, in all humilitie and simplicitie, his Word and veritie!

"In the Fourt Act, I discharge all Jurisdictiones nocht approved in Parliament, and Conventionnes without anie speciall licence. As to the discharge of Jurisdictiones, my meining and declaration is, That they sall ceas whil a setled Polecie and Jurisdiction be establissed according to the missour and lyne of God's Word. As to discharge of Assemblies, they ar nocht simplie dischargit, bot onlie ordaint that they sould be haldin with my speciall licence. And surlie, I trust, that in all Reformed Kirks, whar the Princes and Magistrates war sound in relligion, yie sall find that the Assemblies of the Kirk was noch onlie be thair speciall licence, bot evin be thair calling, and they tham selves Presidents and Moderators of tham. Yie do evill in making your selves to be ignorant of your awin act, as to think the narrative of this act sklanderus and untrew.

"As to the Fyft Act, it exemes the Bischopes onlie for this cause, for that it speakes onlie of deprivation of Bischopes be Sy-

nodall Assemblies, wheras they sould be deprived be Generall. As to the causes of deprivation, they salbe aggreit upon be the Kirk, and thairafter my act accordinglie qualesiet.

"The hindmaist part of my Declaration upon the Thrid Act expones, and with sufficient reasones proves the Saxt Act to be weill; and beayd the forsaid Saxt Act, I am assurit na thing repugnant, but justlie aggreing with the Word of God.

"As to the Thretteint, my intention was ever that all benefices of cure under Prelacies sould be excepted, and sa sall they be reserved in the Act. As to the xx. Act, it is indeid bot temporall, and sen it is maid till indure onlie whill the Parliament, and further during my will, it may be alsweill callit bak without a Parliament as with it. As indeid I mein, efter further conference with sum of the Ministrie, to tak a solide ordour thairanents; but in a thing yie misconstrue it; wharas, yie alleage that it giffes autoritie to a persone to reforme the Kirk, quhilk is nocht, but it apointes everie Bischope to reform his awin diocese; and the Bischope of St Andrews' awin declaration apointes ilk Bischope a counsall of his awin diocese, sa as in effect this act ordeanes ilk Bischope with his diocese to reforme his awin diocese. And as to the commissioners nocht Ecclesiasticall joyned to tham, they ar joyned to giff thair advysses, and nocht to interpone thair autoritie, as yie your selves hes haid sindrie men, mere civill, assisting your Assemblies; and as it wilbe maist necessar that sum men lerned and godlie be yit schosin out for satteling of the Polecie.

"As to the Act concerning the Excommunication of the Bischope of Glasgow, I man first dealeat the occasion schortlie, and thairupon induce the answer and meining. Efter that he haid bein often cited, summoned, and admonished, under pean of excommunication, to demit his benefice, and he, nochtwithstanding, still possessing the saming, depending upon me wha gaiff it to him; at last, sum of the Ministers, specialie sum of the Presbyterie about Edinbruche, was called (as oft befor they haid bein for the sam cause) befor the Counsall, and desyrit to leave af that form of proceeding, whil it war tryed be further conference, wither Bischopes war tolerable in the Kirk of God or nocht. This desyre was granted and

promisit be the haill Ministers present ; bot immediatlie thairefter, he was excommunicat at the Kirk of Libbertoun, a landwart kirk, against promise.¹ They being callit for againe, and accused of ther promise, they all denyit the knowlage thair of ; and nocht onlie they, but the haill Ministerie of Scotland, except that onlie man, David-sone, that pronouncd the sentence, the haill Kirk then disavowing, and that onlie man advowing the deid. Chryst saying, '*Dic Ecclesia*,' and a² onlie man stelling that dint³ in a quyet holl. The Act of Parliament reduces the sentence for informalitie and nulletie of proces, nocht as Judges whidder the excommunication was grundit on guid or just causes or nocht, but as witnesses that it was informalie proceedit against the warrand of God's Word, exemple of all Reformed Kirks, and your awin particular custome in this countrey. And for approbation of the premisses, the forsaid Bischope salbe producit befor the first Generall Assemblie that I sall apoint ; and thairupon, the crymes that war leyd to his charge sall ather be peremptorie absolved or condemned.

"Then, schortlie, till end my Declaration, I mynd nocht to cut away anie libertie granted be God to his Kirk : I acclame nocht to my selff to be Judge of Doctrine in Relligion, salvation, heresies, or trew interpretation of Scripture : I allow na Bischopes according to the traditiones of men, or inventionnes of the Pape, but onlie according to God's Word, nocht to tyrانىse ower his breithring, or to do anie thing of him selff, but with the advyse of his haill diocese, or at least with the wysest number of tham to serve him for a counsall ; and to do na thing him alean,⁴ except the teatching of the Word, ministration of the Sacraments, and votting in Parliament and Counsall. Finalie, I say, his office is, *solum vixisse ad vitam*, haiffing thairfor sum prelation and dignitie above his breithring, as was in the Primitive Kirk. My intention is nocht to discharge anie Jurisdiction in the Kirk that is conform to God's Word, nor to discharge anie Assemblies bot onlie those that salbe haldin by my licence and counsall. My intention is nocht to mell with excommunication ; nather acclame I to my selff or my aires,

¹ "Fides hic penes Principem !" Margin of MS. ² One. ³ Concealing that occasion or opportunity. ⁴ To do nothing alone or by himself.

powar in anie thing that is mere Ecclesiasticall and nocht *ἀδιαφορον*, nor with anie thing that God's Word hes simplie devolvit in the hands of his Ecclesiasticall Kirk. And, to conclud, I confess and acknowlage Chryst Jesus to be Head and Lawgiffar to the sam; and whatsumever persones do attribut to tham selves as Head of the Kirk, and nocht as member, to suspend or alter anie thing that the Word of God hes onlie remitted to tham, that man, I say, commites manifest ydolatrie, and sinnes against the Father in nocht trusting to the words of his Sone; against the Sone in nocht obeying him, and taking his place; against the Holy Ghost, the said Halie Spreit bearing contrarie record to his conscience.

“This mikle for my Declaration, promised at our last Conference, sa far as schortnes of tyme could permit. Wharin whatsoever I haiff affirmed, I will offer me to prove be the Word of God, purest ancients and moderns, neoterics, and be the exemples of the best Reformed Kirks. And whatsoever is omitted for leak of tyme, I remit first to a Convention of godlie and lerned men, and nixt till a Generall Assemblie, that be thay meanes a godlie Polecie being sattelit, we may uniformly arme our selves against the comoun enemie, whom Sathan, els feiling the brathe of God,¹ makes to rage in thir letter dayes. December 7, anno 1585.

“JAMES REX.”

. Efter the receaving and reiding of this Declaration, the Parliament posting till an end, and all men mikle weired, in a cauld winter, sa ill eased; and finding na assistance nor confort, bot contrar, bathe in Nobilitie and Breithring, we behoved till content,² and tak that might be gottin for the present. And sa, efter exhibition of this Supplication following, the meiting dissolved:

THE COMMISSIONER OF THE KIRK'S SUPPLICATION, GIFFEN IN
EFTER THE RECEATT OF THE FORMER DECLARATION.

“SIR, Let it please your Hienes, we haiff sein and considderit

¹ Already feeling the breath or inspiration of God.

² To be contented.

your Majestie's Declaration and interpretation upon the mentioned Actes of Parliament. We praise God, as it becometh us, for your Majestie's judgment and knowlage. Nochtwithstanding, we wald maist humblie crave that in this weghtie cause concerning the establisment of a perfyt Polecie and stat of Government in the Kirk, to stand to all ages and posterities to cum, that the mater might be mair deiplic and digestlie considerit, be Conference of the maist lerned and godlie of your Hienes realme, and giff neid be, with consultation of the best Reformed Kirks in uther countries, that thairefter your Majestie, with advyse of your Esteats, may establishe a perfyt and settelit law in Parliament. And, in the mean tyme, or at lest to the nixt Parliament, your Hienes will grant us libertie and freidome to hauld our ordinarie Assemblies, and use sic discipline as we war in use of befor thir leat Actes, for government of the Ecclesiasticall effeares, concerning the quhilk we salbe at all tymes readie to giff an accompt to God, your Majestie, and guid Counsall, if we do anie thing besyds our dewtie, or to perturbe the Comoun-wealthe, sa far as lyes in us. And in this mean tyme, that your Majestie will grant to restore all Ministers, Maisters of Scholles and Collages, to thair rowmes and possessiones: And specialie, that our breithring, Mr^r Jhone Howisone and Wilyeam Watstone, be delyverit out of warde, and that we be nocht troublet in the mean tyme; to suspend and stay all execution of the lait maid Actes of Parliament, mentioned sa oft against us: And that the Bischopes use na thing bot that quhilk they war in use of befor the making of the forsaid Actes, and perturbe nocht the Kirk nor Assemblies."

M.D.LXXXVI.

That wintar my uncle spent in Glasgw, being earnestlie intreated to visit that Collage, quhilk was his eldest bern; and I was occupied, first, in transporting of my wyff from the Southe to the Northe, whar hir father was in Montrose. Thairefter, leaving hir ther, I was occupied in Edinbruche and uther places about the Collage effeares; in getting the leiving and ordour thair of restorit

and reestablished, quhilk the Bischope haid altered and turned from Theologie to Philosophie, *ab equis ad asinos*, and be contentius pley¹ betwix Mr Jhone Robertsons, an of the Maisters wha remeaned behind us, and Mr David Achmoutie, claiming again, efter my departing, the tytle and intromission of CEconomer thairof, was pitifulie rent and confoundit.

Fra the Parliament² the pest abated, and began to be stranglie and remarkablie withdrawin, be the mercifull hand of God, sa that Edinbruche was frequented again that wintar; and at the entrie of the spring, all the townes, almost desolat befor, repeipled, and St Androis amangs the rest; to the quhilk Mr Andro and I retourned and enterit in the Collage about the middes of the monethe of Merche. At our entrie we war put in mynd of the Provinciaill Assemblie, accustomed to be keipit in the beginning of Apryll, intermitted during the haill twa yeirs of our absence; and understanding that I haid bein Moderator at the last Synod quhilk was keipit, it lay on me to mak the doctrine at the beginning of the Assemblie following. The text and purpose wharof, be my uncle's advyse, I chusit out of the xii. to the Romans, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

The Assemblie being conveyned, in the place accustomed, verie frequentlie,³ and the Bischope placing him self hard besyde me that teatched, with a grait pontificalitie and big countenance, as he braggit he was in his awin citie, and haid the King his maister's favour, he neidit to fear no man; efter incalling of the nam of God, entring in the doctrine, efter the deduction and opening upe of the text, I intreated, First, the groundes and poinets of the trew discipline, confirming the sam be cleir warrands of Scripture: Thairefter refuted the contrarie corruptiones, namlie, of the humane and deivillishe bischoprik: Thridlie, was discoursit the maner of planting and settling with maist profitable, comlie, and comfortable possession of the right and trew discipline within the Kirk of Scotland, untill these twa or thrie yeirs last bypast: Fourtlie, it was deducit and declarit throwout the haill ages of the Kirk, sen the planting thairof be the Apostles, whow that the presuming and swalling of the cheiff

¹ Litigation, contention. ² From the period the Parliament ended. ³ Numerously.

corrupt members, be avarice and ambition, haid vitiat and wrakit¹ the estate of the Kirk from tym to tym, bringing in sectes, schismes, heresies, and all kynd of corruption, bathe in doctrine and maners : And, last, coming in particular to our awin Kirk of Scotland, I turned to the Bischope, sitting at my elbow, and directing my speitch to him personalie, I recompted to him schortlie his lyff, actiones, and proceedings against the Kirk, taking the Assemblie ther to witnes, and his awin conscience befor God, giff he was nocht an evident pruiff and exemple of that doctrine, whom, being a Minister of the Kirk, the dragon haid sa stangit² with the poisons and venom of avarice and ambition, that swalling exorbitantlie out of missour, thretned the wrak and destruction of the haill bodie, in cease he war nocht tymouslie and with courage cut of. This particularlie confirmed and cleired, exhortation was direct to the Assemblie, convenit ther, to play the chirurgian for preserving of the body, namlie, seing all meanes of amendiment haid bein lang syne used upon that maist corrupt member and monstruus : And this was done with sic powar of the Spreit and force of utterance as it pleased God to furneise for the wark he haid in hand.

When I haid endit, the Bischope begoud³ with certean frivolus and forgit questiones and chalenges against me ; adding thairunto thretnings that I sould be maid till⁴ answer befor his Majestie for my doctrine, offensive against the King and actes of his Hienes Parliament, bot sa dashit and strucken with terror and trembling that he could skarse sitt, to let be⁵ stand on his feit. Bot the Assemblie, keiping thair ordour, chusit a Moderator, and thairefter censurit my doctrine, and all in a voice glorified God, and approved the sam, praying God to giff tham grace to byde be⁶ that treuthe quhilk haid bein cleirlie and mightelie delyverit to tham out of God's Word, and to endeavour to discharge that dewtie wharto they war sa movinglie exhorted. Therefter enterit in proces with the Bischope, wha annes getting out of⁷ the Assemblie, wald na wayes giff his presence

¹ Vitiated and wrecked.
mention.

² Stung.
⁶ Abide, stand fast by.

³ Began.

⁴ To.

⁵ Not to

⁷ Who, if once he got out of.

thairto againe, alleaging prouddie that it apertained to him to judge it, and nocht to it to judge him. Bot the treuthe was, he was dashit in conscience, and terrified with the number of gentilmen conveyned, that, nochtwithstanding his awin citie and his maister's favour, he seimed to feir everie man he saw. To be schort, the Assemblie proceeding with all gravitie, leasor, and ordour, in end, for manie notorius crymes, troubling of the Kirk, and present malignant contumacie, pronuncit that sentence of excommunication against him; the weght wharof he felt the sarer¹ thairefter, that uphaldin a whyll be the authoritie of man, he prouddie repyned against the sam.

A day or twa efter, he penned an excommunication, and in a bischoplie maner send out a boy with ane or twa of his jakmen,² and red the sam in the Kirk, wherby, be his Archiepiscopall authoritie, he excommunicat Mr Andro Melvill, me, and a certean ma³ of the brethring; quhilk was as mikle thought of, even amangs the peiple, as giff he haid fyllid the Kirk.

Then with diligence he directs away to the King a heavie complement, with a large and schrewddie penned Appellation, the quhilk I answered at lainthe, as was thought maist neidfull for the tyme; and to the quhilk, because it contienes a full declaration of the hail cause and proceeding thairin, with the reasones and warrands thairof, I remit the reidar.

The Sabathe following, the Bischope wald neids tak courage, and nochtwithstanding his suspending from pretching of auld be the Generall Assemblie, and now excommunication be the Synodall, yit he wald to the pulpit and preatche. But being com to the Kirk, and the bell rounge, and he ready to go to pulpit, an comes and telles him, (upon what mynd I knaw nocht,) that a number of gentilmen, with ceartean citiciners, war conveyned within the New Collage, of purpose to tak him out of the pulpit and hang him! Wharat, calling for his jakmen and frinds to byde about him, he reased a grait tumult in the Kirk, and for feir could nocht byd in the Kirk, but

¹ Sorer, more severely.² Hired and armed retainers.³ A certain number more.

tuk him to the stiple;¹ out of the quhilk, be the bailyies, accompanied with all his favorars and freinds, skarslie could he be drawin to be convoyed saiffie to his awin Castell; but being halff against his will ruggit² out, and halff borne and careit away, sic as was neirest him all the way war lyk to burst for stink! And it was reported for veritie to me, be manie honest men that saw it with their eis, that a heare³ brak out amangs the multitude in the middes of the comoun Hie-gett and streit,⁴ and ran befor tham toward the Castell, and down throw the Northe-gett. This the vulgar callit the Bischope's Witche.⁵ Upon this he reased and gaiff out, yea wrot to the King maist fals and malitius sklanders on my uncle and me; alleaging that I haid posted a day or twa befor athort⁶ the countrie to cause the gentlemen conveyin against him, and that Maister Andro haid tham convenit in the Collage of purpose to tak his lyff: When the treuthe was, that immediatlie efter the ending of the Assemblie, a heaveie feat of the tertian⁷ overtuk me, that causit me keipe my hous twa dayes befor that Sabathe; and that sam morning it ceased sa on me that I swined and lay dead,⁸ till, by the grait and pitifull cryes of my wyff, the nibours cam in for hir helpe and comfort; quhilk convicted him of a malitius lie. And as to Maister Andro, the treuthe was, that the Lard of Lundy, haifand a speciall earand with his brother-in-law, Pitmillie, cam to St Androis with certean frinds, and about the last bell ged⁹ in to the Collage to confer with Mr Andro, and haiff exerceise of the Word ther, because he wald nocht heir an excommunicat man pretche: The quhilk the guid peiple of the town perceaving, left the Kirk and drew tham to the Collage; quhilk was all that was in that mater, upon the part of Mr Andro; wha, albeit he hated his wickednes, yit loved the saull and

¹ Betook himself to the steeple of the church.² Dragged.³ A hare.⁴ High-road and street.⁵ The Archbishop was said to have consulted with witches; and it was popularly considered that witches, when hard pressed, frequently assumed the form of a hare, in order the more swiftly to make their escape from their pursuers.⁶ Across, athwart.⁷ A severe fit of the tertian fever and ague.⁸ Swooned away and lay insensible, as if dead.⁹ Went.

bodie of him better nor him selff, the quhilk he wald never haid destroyed, bot, if it war possible, be all guid meanes win to God.

The King, at this mater, was graitlie incensed; and knawing that a Generall Assemblie was to be in Edinburgh in the monethe of May following, travelit maist diligentlie and earnestlie with courteous, officers, Nobilitie, and Ministerie, to haiff that sentence annull-ed, and his Bischope restored and relaxed. And with fellon grait¹ bissines, and mikle ado maid at the Assemblie, at last skarslie be a few number of ma vottes, threw out this conclusion, That the Bischope sould be halding and reput in the sam cais and condition that he was in befor the haulding of the Synod of St Androis, without prejudice, dicerning or judging anie thing of the proceedings, proces, or sentence of the said Synod. Wherin, to the grait greiff of the godlie and zelus upright hartes, was first espyed what the feir and flatterie of Court could work in a Kirk, amangs a multitud of weak and inconsiderat breithring.

Na intimationes from pulpit was maid of this sentence, but with all speid a proclamation with sound of trumpet was maid thairupon. And thairefter Mr Andro and I called befor the King, and efter admitting to his gratius presence in his Cabbinet, and kissing of his Hienes' hand, yit Mr Andro was commandit to ward in the place whar he was born, during the King's will; and I, because I was seik of the tertian fever, send hame to the Collage. And the Bischope ordeanit, by his preatching in the pulpit, to teatche publict lessones in Latin within the Auld Collage scholl, and the hail Universitie commandit to frequent the saming. Sathan mightelie stryving thairby to hauld upe the banner against the kingdome of Jesus Chryst.

Thus, with patience, parting from Edinbruche, Mr Andro to his ward, and I, withe his directiones, entering againe to that lang interrupted and almost ruyned wark of the Collage, the Bischope to his teatching and pretching in pulpit and schooles; he triumphing, and we almaist dejected, thus remeaned all that simmer. Yit, in

¹ Very great.

the mean tyme, under grait weaknes, befor the warld, God was working strongelie; wha furnesing sum helthe and courage to me on the ane part, and graitte desyre of knowlage and hallines in the hartes of the haill heirars of the Universitie, maid our auditorie and schooles to be frequented againe. I began till allure the auditor¹ [with] a maist pleasand and fruitfull purpose, to wit, the Historie of the Byble, with the twa lightes for cleiring thairrof, Geographie and Chronologie, and intermelling² thairwithe, in thair ages as they fell out, the cheiff pointes of the Greik and Latine storie; bot, namlie, myndfull of the wark of Chryst: Everie uthter day³ I teatched the Epistle to Timothe, intreatting, as I could, of the discipline, and namlie insisting on the contraverted questionnes, bringing in all the Bischopes reasones, and refuting tham, and establishing the treuthe to my uttermaist. These disputes, at the desyre of our students, for thair memorie in the efter noone houres, I dytted⁴ to tham.

Bot skantlie haid I bein a monethe thus wayes exerceised, to my grait confort, and haldin in of sum spunk⁵ of lyff in the Collage and cause of Chryst, when the devill devyses a distraction. The Collage haid a takisman⁶ of a Kirk of thars, named Jhone Yrewing,⁷ wha finding his takes⁸ draw to an end, and knowing that he could nocht gett tham renewed bot be moyen⁹ of Court, dresses him to attend thairon; namlie, perceaving the King to be giffen to halkin and hounting,¹⁰ wherin he was expert, he employes his service officiouslie, sa that he becomes a man of credit; and seing Mr Androes cease to stand sa, makes his sutt that he sould nocht be receivit till his tak was renewit: And yit, that he might haiff the turn done fearlie,¹¹ causses the King to wrait for me to come to him with diligence; and when I haid come twyse or thryse, na thing was meined¹² to me of that mater be the King, bot onlie be his Maister Haker.¹³

¹ Auditory.² Intermingling.³ Each alternate day.⁴ Dictated.⁵ Spark.⁶ Tenant, one who held a lease.⁷ Irving.⁸ Tacks, leases.⁹ Influence.¹⁰ Hawking and hunting, sports of which King James was passionately fond.¹¹ Fairly, plausibly.¹² Complained.¹³ Master Falconer.

This wayes being distracted, the Universitie, wanting the profit of Mr Andro and the small thing I could do, also sendes an earnest supplication directed with the Dean of Facultie and a maister of everie Collage to his Majestie, schawing the grait los of Mr Androes travelles and lerning amangs them ; as also whow I was distracted fra my charge, humblie beseikand his Hienes to releive Mr Andro from ward, and restore him to his teatching and office in the Collage, quhilk was sa profitable for the Kirk and Comounweill, and honourable for his Majestie's esteat and realme.

The King, moved with this commission and supplication of the Universitie, promises to tak ordour with that mater and satisfie the Universitie, provyding the Bischope might be in quyetnes and reverendlie hard and usit, wherof Mr Andro making him sure, he sould be frie. Wherupon I was directed to Mr Andro, and retourned answer, that as he haid ever behavit him selff befor, sa he sould do, troubling na man, bot attending on the discharge of his calling. Nochtwithstanding the moyen of the Maister Haker prevealed, and maid all our exerceises to veak¹ except now and then for a monethe, and cost me neir a couple of hounder mylles ryding ; till at last, about the beginning of August, I was directed ower to convoy my uncle to his Majestie, wha, coming to Falkland to his Hienes, was, be the convoy of the Maister of Gray, brought to his Majestie, and efter lang and fear² conference, was receavit in favour and send hame to the Collage, bot sa that upon the King's fathfull promise to better the Collage twyse sa mikle, the Maister Haker's tak was subscrivit.

Therefter, in the monethe of September, accompanied with my fathfull frind and companion, Mr Robert Dury, I tuk jorney to Berwik to bring hame my sone Ephraim, on whome befor I haid skarslie lasor to think ; and thanking that godlie, guid, courteus lady,³ and all our frinds ther, we retourned the neirest way be the Ferrie of Northe Berwik, passing the quhilk I was in the graittest perplexitie of ane that ever I was in my tyme befor, and haid the

¹ To remain vacant. Lat. *vacare*.

² Fair.

³ Lady Widdrington.

maist suddan and comfortable releiff of my guid and gratius God and Father, to whase honour, as in all, I man record it. We schip-pit in weill unadvysedlie,¹ because the day was verie feare, in a mikle coll-bott,² wherin ther was bot a auld man and twa young boyes, we haiffing twa horses, a boy, the nurise, an Einglis woman, a souldier's wyff of Berwik, wha haid a desyre to com with the bern in Scotland, and whom I could nocht refuse, bathe because of hir kyndlie offer, and the bern was sa browdin upon³ hir, that without danger he could nocht be speaned⁴ from hir. We hoised seall⁵ with a lytle pirhe of est wind,⁶ and lainshed furthe till al-maist the thrid of the passage was past, and then it fell down dead calme. For rowing, nather was ther cares meit nor handes,⁷ the boott was sa heavie, the man auld, and the boyes young. In this mean tyme, the honest woman becomes sa seik, with sic extremitie and preas of vomiting first, thereafter with swinings,⁸ that it was pitifull to behauld. Withe hir working, the barn wackens,⁹ and becomes extream seik, being nan bot my selff to curie¹⁰ tham, for Mr Robert was rowing. This dreing¹¹ for the space of thrie houres, in end I becam dead seik my selff, sa that then it becam a maist pitifull and lamentable spectacle, to sie a woman, a stranger, an honest man's wyff com fra ham to pleasour me, to be with extream pres apeirand everie minut to giff upe the ghost; an infant of thrie halff yeirs auld spreauling in the awin excrements, and the father, partlie for feir and cair of mynd, and partlie for sear seiknes, lifting upe pitifull hands and eis to the heavines, voide of all erdlie¹² confort or helpe of man! Now, that quhilk maid our esteat almaist desperat was, if the calme remeanit, the woman could nocht haiff indurit, bot, but dout,¹³ haid died, the extremitie of hir pean and swining was sik,¹⁴ and being sa far fra land in a halff of the night with that quhilk rested of the day, nocht past thrie houres, we could nocht haiff rowed to land, if anie drow¹⁵ haid rissen; nather

¹ We embarked most unadvisedly. ² A large coal boat. ³ Doatingly fond of.

⁴ Weaned. ⁵ Hoisted sail. ⁶ Light breeze of east wind. ⁷ Neither were the oars nor hands meet, or suitable. ⁸ Swooning, fainting fit. ⁹ The child awakes.

¹⁰ Take care of. ¹¹ Suffering, enduring. ¹² Earthly. ¹³ But without doubt.

¹⁴ The extremity of her pain and swooning were such. ¹⁵ Sudden squall.

was ther handes to takle the sealles,¹ nor was the grathe hail and freshe to byd the wound.² And thairwith, be hir tumbling and yeawing,³ the mast schouk sa louse, that Mr Robert (the auld man being dammist and machles⁴) haid mikle ado to fasten the sam; sa that na releiff being bot in the sweit mercie and helpe of our God, my hart maist urgentlie importuned him; and hoping patientlie, (for everie houre was mair nor the hail tyme of our banishment,) at last the Lord luiked mercifullie on, and send, about the sune going to, a thik ear⁵ from the South-east, sa that, getting on the seall ther was upon hir, within an houre and a half, quhilk was strange to our consideration, na wound blawing, we arryved within the Alie,⁶ and efter a maist weirisome and sear⁷ day, gat a comfortable night's ludging with a godlie lady in Carmury.

[I twitched befor, the sermon that James Gipsone,⁸ Minister of Pencatland, maid in the pulpit of Edinbruche, at the incoming of the Lords, and taking of Sterling. Thairin, as he was thought to be scharpe against the Subscriiving Brethering, so was he judgit vehement and over peremptorie against the King, whom he threatened with the judgments of Jeroboam, in these words, or verey neir: "That if he persisted in perverting the established Discipline of the Kirk, and persecuting of God's faithfull servants, his posteritie should be cutt aff, and he should be the last of his race!" The King caussed seik him lang; and at last, by some of his Gward, apprehendit him and put him in prisone; and at the Generall Assemblie, hauldin at Edinbruche in the moneth of October, travelit sa that by maniest vottes he was condemnit as rasche in application, and over particular and sair against the King; and sa removit from his ministerie whar he servit. Yit could he by na meanes be moved to call bak⁹ or deny his doctrine, unles he should lie against that warrand both of the Word and Spirit wharby he haid spoken, &c.¹⁰]

¹ Tackle the sails.

² Neither was the tackling whole and fresh enough to stand the wind.

³ Yawing, rolling, or heeling with the ground-swell.

⁴ Feeble, void of might or strength.

⁵ About sun-set, a thick fog or mist.

⁶ No wind blowing, we arrived within the harbour of Elie, "in the East-nuik of Fife."

⁷ Tedious and sore, or severe.

⁸ Gibson.

⁹ Revoke or recal.

¹⁰ On margin of MS.

That wintar it pleased God to repear¹ againe the temple of his awin Jerusalem, opening the mouthe of his servant Mr Andro again with sic grace and powar, that all began in earnest to be Theologes; the treuthe bathe concerning doctrine and discipline to be narrowlier luiked unto, and the Bischopes fear schawes, and scheddowes,² to vanishe and wear away. Then, also, God opened the mouthe of Mr Robert Bruce at a speciall remarkable tyme within the Collage. For all was justlie casten in dout wither they sould heir the Bischopes preching, being bathe suspendit and excommunicat; yit manie yeildit for feir and favour of the man's smothe and pleasand utterance; bot the best, bathe of the Town and Universitie, could nocht of conscience heir him, and therfor resorted verie frequentlie³ to the Collage everie Sabothe, and fand of Mr Andro and Mr Robert Bruce exceiding grait edification and confort. As for me, I was then apointed be the Presbyterie to teatche at Anstruther everie Sabothe, and was in-calling⁴ to that ministerie, wherin I enterit the simmer following, about the sam age that the Preistes, and Chryst him selff, enterit and began thair ministerie. Anent the occasion, maner, and effects wharof, reid in beginning of this book, inregistrat ther at lynthe, and of purpose. The quhilk narration, in this discourse of my lyff, and maist mercifull and gratius working of God with me, an unworthie wratche, comes in in this place ordourlie.

Bot the memorie of my grait fascherie⁵ and vexation wherin I was occupied in the simmer of the 1586 yeir, haid almost maid me forget a comfortable benefit of God bestowit on me in the middes thair of; to wit, of a pleasand second sone, in this respect contrare to the uthir, that the first was gottin in Scotland, and born in England; the second, gottin at London, was born in St Androis the nynt day of July. Be occasion I haid the Erle of Mar to my gosope,⁶ whom I rememberit of his dewtie; bot in love and remembrance of him whom it was nocht thair part to let ly in ward from his calling, I called the bern Andro.

¹ Repair.² Fair shows and shadows.³ Resorted in considerable numbers.⁴ Called.⁵ Trouble.⁶ Godfather or sponsor.

M.D.LXXXVII.

At the Generall Assemblie in the spring tyme of the year 1587, Mr Andro moved the Kirk of Edinbruche to desyre the Assemblie to cause Mr Robert Bruce pretche, and efter to sutt him att the said Assemblie to be thair pastor, in the place of Mr James Law-sone, and the said Assemblie to grant and appoinct him thairto: bot whowbeit that he and I bathe delt earnestlie with Mr Robert, he wald nocht assent thairto, but contented to teatche ther, and tak a sey¹ what God wald work with him; the quhilk he did, with the notable fruit that followed.

That year, in the monethe of May, Guiliaum Salust, S[eignour] du Bartas, cam in Scotland to sie the King, of whome he was receavit according to his worthines, interteined honourable, and liberalie propyned² and dismissed in the hervest, to his Majestie's grait praise, sa lange as the French tounge is used and understuid in the world.

About the end of Junie, his Majestie cam to St Androis, and brought with him the said Du Bartas, and coming first without anie warning to the New Collage, he calles for Mr Andro, saying he was com with that gentleman to haiff a Lessone. Mr Andro answeres, That he haid teatched his ordinar that day in the fornoone. "That is all ane," sayes the King, "I mon haiff³ a lessone, and be heir within an houre for that effect." And, indeid, within les nor an houre, his Majestie was in the scholl, and the hail Universitie convenit with him; befor whom Mr Andro *ex tempore* intreated maist cleirlie and mightelie of the right government of Chryst, and in effect refuted the hail Actes of Parliament maid against the discipline thairof, to the grait instruction and confort of his auditor, except the King alleane,⁴ wha was verie angrie all that night.

Upon the morn the Bischope haid bathe a prepared lessone and feast maid for the King. His lessone was a tichted upe⁵ abregment of all he haid tetched⁶ the year bypast, namlie, anent the corrupt groundes quhilk he haid put in the King's head, contrarie to

¹ Trial.² Presented with gifts.³ Must have.⁴ Alone.⁵ A close (literally a tightened up) summary or abridgment.⁶ Taught.

the trew discipline. To the quhilk lessone Mr Andro went, contrar to his custome, and withe his awin pen market¹ all his fals grounds and reasones, and, without farder, caussit ring his bell at twa efternoone the sam day ; wharof the King heiring, he send to Mr Andro, desyring him to be moderat, and haiff regard to his presence, utherwayes he wald discharge him. He answered couragiously, that his Majestie's ear and tender breist was pitifullie and dangeruslie filled with errours and untreuthes be that wicked man, the quhilk he could nocht suffer to pas, and bruike a lyff, utherwayes, except the stopping of the breathe of God's mouthe, and prejudging of his treuthe, he sould behaiff him selff maist moderatlie and reverentlie to his Majestie, in all respects. The King send againe to him and me, desyring it sould be sa, and schawin that he wald haiff his four hours² in the Collage, and drink with Mr Andro. Sa coming to that lessone with the Bischope, wha requysted the King for leive to mak answer instantlie, in cais anie thing war spoken against his doctrine. Bot ther Mr Andro, making him as thouche he haid na thing to do but with the Papist, brings out thair works, and reids out of tham all the Bischopes grounds and reasones. The quhilk, when he haid at lainthe and maist cleirly schawin to be plean Papistrie, then he settes against the sam with all his mean,³ and with invincible force of reasone, from cleir grounds of Scripture, with a mightie parrhesie and fluide of eloquence, he dinges tham sa down, that the Bischope was dasht and strucken als dum as the stok he satt upon ! Efter the lessone, the King, in his mother tounge, maid sum distingoes,⁴ and discoursit a whyll thairon, and gaiff certean injunctiones to the Universitie for reverencing and obeying of his Bischope ; wha, fra that day furthe, began to tyre of his teatching, and fall mair and mair in disgrace and confusion. The King, with Monsieur du Bartas, cam to the Collage Hall, wher I causit prepear, and haiff in readines a banquet of wat and dry confectiones, with all sortes of wyne, wharat his Majestie camped⁵ verie

¹ Marked, noted.² His refreshment or repast at four o'clock.³ Might.⁴ Distinctions.⁵ Caroused, *kemped*, or drank deep.

mirrelie a guid whyll, and thairefter went to his hors. Bot Monsieur du Bartas taried behind and conferrit with my uncle and me a wholl houre, and syne followed efter the King; wha inquiring of him that night, as ane tauld me, "What was his judgment of the twa he haid herd in St Androis?" He answeret the King, "That they war bathe lerned men, bot the Bischope's war cunned,¹ and prepared maters, and Mr Andro haid a grait reddie store of all kynd of larning within him; and by² that, Mr Andro his spreit and courage was far above the other." The quhilk judgment the King approved.

That Witsonday I removit my wyff and famelie from St Androis to Anstruther, quhilk was the twolt tyme I haid flitted sen my marriage in the space of four yeir; wherby I was rememberit this lyff to be but a sojourning in a wildernes, and was sett to considder mair neirlye the historie of the peiple of God in thair journey from Egypt to the Promist Land, &c.

At my first coming to Anstruther ther fell out a heavie accident, quhilk vexit my mynd mikle at the first, bot drew me mikle neirar my God, and teatched me what it was to haiff a cear of a flok. Ane of our creares³ retourning from Eingland was unbesett be an Einglis pirat, pilled,⁴ and a verie guid honest man of Anstruther slean thairin. The quhilk lown⁵ coming pertlie to the verie roade of Pittenweim, spuilzied⁶ a schipe lying thairin, and misusit the men thairof. This wrang could nocht be suffered be our men, lest they could be maid a comoun prey to sic limmers.⁷ Thairfor, purchassing a commissioun, they riget to a propre flie-boot,⁸ and everie man incuraging uther, maid almaist the hail honest and best men in all the town to go in hir to the sie. This was a grait vexation and greiff to my hart, to sie at my first entres the best part of my flok ventured upon a pak of pirates, wharof the smallest member of the meimest was mair in valour⁹ then a schipfull of tham. And yit

¹ Conned, prepared beforehand.

² Besides, over and above, *forbye*.

³ A sort of lighter or barque with one mast.

⁴ Pillaged.

⁵ Loon, a worthless fellow, a rascal.

⁶ Spoiled, plundered.

⁷ Thieves, scoundrels.

⁸ Rigged out a proper fly-boat, i. e. a swift-sailing vessel.

⁹ Worth. Lat *valor*.

I durst nocht stay sum les nor I steyed all,¹ and all I durst nocht, bathe for the dangerus preparative,² and the frinds of the honest man wha was sleane, and of tham that war abbuisit, wha war manie, in sic sort as the mater concerned the hail. Bot my God knawes what a sear hart they left behind when they parted out of my sight, or rather what a hart they caried with them, leiving a bouk behind. I nather eat, drank, nor sleiped, bot be constraint of nature, my thought and cair alwayes being upon tham, and commending tham to God, till aught or ten dayes war endit, and they in sight retourning, with all guid takens of joy, flagges, streamers, and enseingyie displayit, whom with grait joy we receavit, and went togidder to the Kirk, and praised God.

The Captean for the tyme, a godlie, wyse, and stout man, recompted to me trewlie ther haill proceeding: That they meiting with thair Admirall, a grait schipe of St Androis, weill riget out be the Burrowes, being fyne of seale,³ went befor hir all the way, and maid everie schipe they forgatherit with, of whatsumever nation, to strik and do homage to the King of Scotland, schawing tham for what cause they war riget furthe, and inquiring of knaves and pirates. At last, they meit with a proude, stiff Einglisman, wha refuses to do reverence; thairfor the Captean, thinking it was a lown, commands to giff tham his nose-piece,⁴ the quhilk delashit⁵ lightes on the tye of the Einglisman's mean seale,⁶ and down it comes; then he yeilds, being but a merchant. Bot ther was the mercifull providence of God, in steying a grait piece of the Einglisman lying out hir starn in readines to be schot, quhilk if it haid lichted amang our folks, being manie in litle roun, without fence, wald haiff crew-alie demeaned tham all: But God directing that first schot preserved tham. From them they approtched to the schore at Suffolk, and findes be Providence the lown, wha haid newlings⁷ takin a crear of our awin town, and was spuleing⁸ hir. Whowsone they spy ane coming war-lyk, the lownes leaves thair pryse,⁹ and rines

¹ I dared not prevent some, unless I had prevented all of them.

² Example.

³ A fast sailer.

⁴ A piece of ordnance in the fore-part of the ship.

⁵ Which

being discharged.

⁶ Mainsail.

⁷ Newly.

⁸ Plundering.

⁹ Prize.

thair schipe on land. Our flie-boot efter, and almaist was on land with tham; yit steying hard be, they delaishe¹ thair ordinance at the lownes, and a nember going a-land persewes and takes a halff a dissonne of tham, and putes tham aboard in ther boot. The gentle men of the countrey and townes besyde, heiring the noyes of schotting, gathers with hast, supposing the Spainyard haid landit, and apprehending a number of the lownes in our men's handes, desyrit to knaw the mater. The quhilk, when the Justices of Peace understude, and saw the King of Scotland's armes, with twa galland schippes in war-lyk maner, yeildit and gaiff reverence thairto, suffering our folks to tak with tham thair prisoners and pirat's schipe, quhilk they brought hame with tham, with halff a dissonne of the lownes; wharof twa war hangit on our Pier-end, the rest in St Androis; with na hurt at all to anie of our folks, wha ever sen syne hes bein frie from Einglis pirates. All praise to God for ever. Amen.

[This yeir, ryding up to Carnbie, in companie with the Lard of Balfour and his brother, to desing the manse and gleib of the Kirk to Mr Andro Hounter, minister, upon an kitle hat ridden hors, ap-
 protching to a strype weill how of sevin or aught feet brod, I put at the hors to cause him lope² it; and because he was evill-mouthed and hat ridden, I held his head streat, wharat he repyning in the middes of his lope, cust down his head, sa that all the seddle-gear braking, he cust me ower on the uther bank with the sedle betwix my legges, and his heid going down, he lopes the supersault,³ and his buttokes lightes hard besyd me, with all his four feit to the lift!⁴ The lyk wharof was never hard in the judgment of the behaulders, and all that hathe considerit it sen syne, without anie hurt to man or beist, except the saddle-grathe braking.]

That yeir, about the end of July and beginning of August, was haldin the first Parliament be the King efter his perfyte age of twentie and a⁵ yeirs: Wherin, except the ratefication of the Actes maid of befor for establishing of the trew Relligion and abolishing

¹ Discharge.² Leap.³ Casts a somerset.⁴ Sky, firmament.⁵ One.

of Papistrie, na guid was done for the Kirk; bot, be the contrar, sche was spuiljet be a plane law of the ane halff of her patrimonie, to wit, of the temporall landes of all her benefices be that Act of Annexation: Her ei in the mean tyme blearit with twa fear¹ promises; ane of abolishing of all Bischopries and Prelacies, and yit the Bischope of St Androis was a speciall doar thairin, (and was the last publict act that ever he was at;) ane uther, that the hail teinds sould be peaceable put in the Kirk's possession. Bot of God's just judgment, that annexation of the temporalitie hes done the King als mikle guid as sic promises of the Kirk's Spiritualitie.

The sam yeir, in the hervest, brak upe a grait pest² in Leithe, and continowit all that wintar, quhilk strak a grait terroure in Edinbruche and all the cost syde. Be the occasion wharof we began the exerceise of daylie doctrine and prayers in our Kirk, quhilk continowes to this day with grait profit and confort, bathe of the teitchars and heirars.

[This wintar I past ower to Dalkethe, and obtained the gift of the stipend of Anstruther Waster, whar God, be sum helpe of me, an unworthie instrument, called Mr James Nicolsone from the Court to the Ministerie; and in retourning, of mere Providence, was the occasion of the mariage of Patrik Forbes of Cors with Lucre³ Spence, sistar to the Lard of Wilmerston,⁴ married in Anstruther in the simmer following.]

M.D.LXXXVIII.

That wintar the King was occupied in commenting of the Apocalypse, and in setting out of sermontes thairupon against the Papists and Spaiyarts: And yit, by a piece of grait owersight, the Papists practeised never mair bissellie in this land, and maid grait preparation for receaving of the Spaiyarts nor⁵ that yeir. For a lang tyme the newes of a Spanishe navie and armie⁶ haid

¹ Fair.

² Pestilence, plague.

³ Lucrece, Lucretia.

⁴ Wormiston.

⁵ Than.

⁶ The "Invincible Armada," which, through the merciful Providence of God, was wonderfully dispersed and destroyed so shortly afterwards.

bein blasit abroad; and about the Lambes tyde of the 1558, this Yland haid fund a feirfull effect thair of, to the utter subversion bathe of Kirk and Polecie, giff God haid nocht wounderfullie watched ower the sam, and mightelie fauchten and defeat that armie be his souldiours, the elements, quhilk he maid all four maist fercelie to afflict tham till almost utter consumption. Terrible was the feir persing war¹ the pretchings, earnest, zealus, and fervent war the prayers, sounding war the siches and sobbes, and abounding was the teares at that Fast and Generall Assemblie keipit at Edinbruche, when the newes war credible tauld, sum tymes of thair landing at Dumbar, sum tymes at St Androis, and in Tay, and now and then at Aberdein and Cromertie first: And in verie deid, as we knew certeanlie soone efter, the Lord of Armies, wha ryddes upon the winges of the wounds,² the Keipar of his awin Israell, was in the mean tyme conveying that monstruus navie about our costes, and directing thair hulkes and galiates to the ylands, rokkes, and sandes, wharupon he haid destinat thair wrak and destruction. For within twa or thrie monethe thairefter, earlie in the morning, be brak of day, ane of our bailies cam to my bedsyde, saying, (but nocht with fray,³) "I haiff to tell yow newes, Sir. Ther is arryvit within our herbrie this morning a schipe full of Spainyarts, bot nocht to giff mercie bot to ask!" And sa schawes me that the Commanders haid landit, and he haid commandit tham to thair schipe againe till the Magistrates of the town haid advysit, and the Spainyarts haid humblie obeyit: Therfor desyrit me to ryse and heir thair petition with tham. Upe I got with diligence, and assembling the honest men of the town, cam to the Tolbuthe; and efter consultation taken to heir tham, and what answer to mak, ther presentes us a verie reverend man of big stature, and grave and stout countenance, grey-heared, and verie humble lyk, wha, efter mikle and verie law courtesie, bowing down with his face neir the ground, and twitching my scho⁴ with his hand, began his harang in the Spanise tounge, wharof I understud the substance; and being about

¹ Piercing were.² Winds.³ Affright, terror.⁴ Touching my shoe,

to answer in Latine, he haiffing onlie a young man with him to be his interpreter, began and tauld ower againe to us in guid Einglis. The sum was, that King Philipe, his maister, haid riget out a navie and armie to land in Eingland for just causes to be advengit of manie intolerable wrangs quhilk he haid receavit of that nation; but God for ther sinnes haid bein against thame, and be storme of wather haid dryven the navie by the cost¹ of Eingland, and him with a certean of Capteanes, being the Generall of twentie hulks, upon an yll of Scotland, called the Fear Yll,² wher they maid schipewrak, and whar sa monie as haid eschapit the merciles sies and rokes, haid mair nor sax or sevin ouks suffred grait hunger and cauld, till conducing that bark out of Orkney, they war com hither as to thair speciall frinds and confederats to kiss the King's Majestie's hands of Scotland, (and thairwith bekkit³ even to the yeard,) and to find releiff and comfort thairby to him selff, these gentilmen Capteanes, and the poore souldarts, whase condition was for the present maist miserable and pitifull.

I answerit this mikle, in soun:⁴ That whowbeit nather our frindschipe, quhilk could nocht be grait, seing ther King and they war frinds to the graitest enemie of Chryst, the Pape of Rome, and our King and we defyed him, nor yit thair cause against our nibours and speciall frinds of Eingland could procure anie benefit at our hands for thair releiff and confort; nevertheles, they sould knaw be experience, that we war men, and sa moved be human compassione, and Christiannes of better relligion nor they, quhilk sould kythe,⁵ in the fruiets and effect, plan contrar to thars. For wheras our peiple resorting amangs tham in peacable and lawfull effeares of merchandise, war violentlie takin and cast in prisone, thair guidis and gear confiscat, and thair bodies committed to the crewall flaming fyre for the cause of Relligion, they sould find na thing amangs us bot Christian pitie and warks of mercie and almes, leaving to God to work in thair harts concerning Relligion as it pleased him. This being trewlie reported again to him be his trunshman,⁶ with

¹ Past the coast.² Fair Isle.³ Made obeisance.⁴ In brief, in sum.⁵ Manifest.⁶ Interpreter. Evidently from Fr. *trucheman*.

grait reverence he gaiff thankes, and said he could nocht mak answer for thair Kirk and the lawes and ordour thair of, onlie for him self, that ther war divers Scotsmen wha knew him, and to whome he haid schawin courtesie and favour at Calles,¹ and as he supposit, sum of this sam town of Anstruther. Sa schew him that the Bailies granted him licence with the Capteanes, to go to thair ludging for thair refreschment, bot to nane of thair men to land, till the ower-lord² of the town war advertised, and understand the King's Majestie's mynd anent thame. Thus with grait courtesie he departed.

That night, the Lard³ being advertised, cam, and on the morn, accompanied with a guid number of the gentilmen of the countrey round about, gaiff the said Generall and the Capteanes presence, and efter the sam speitches, in effect, as befor, receavit tham in his hous, and interteined tham humeanlie, and sufferit the souldiours to com a-land, and ly all togidder, to the number of threttin score, for the maist part young berdles men, sillie, trauchled,⁴ and houngered, to the quhilk a day or twa, keall, pottage, and fische was giffen; for my advyse was conforme to the Prophet Elizeus his to the King of Israel, in Samaria, "Giff tham bread and water," &c. The names of the commanders war Jan Gomes de Medina, Generall of twentie houlkes, Capitan Patricio, Capitan de Legoretto, Capitan de Luf-fera, Capitan Mauritio, and Seingour Serrano.

Bot verelie all the whyll my hart melted within me for desyre of thankfulnes to God, when I rememberit the prydfull and crewall naturall of they⁵ peiple, and whow they wald haiff usit us in ceas they haid landit with thair forces amangs us; and saw the woun-derfull wark of God's mercie and justice in making us sie tham, the cheiff commanders of tham to mak sic dewgard⁶ and curtessie to pure simen, and thair souldarts⁷ so abjectlie to beg almes at our dures⁸ and in our streites.

In the mean tyme, they knew nocht of the wrak of the rest, but

¹ Calais.

² Over-lord or feudal superior.

³ The Laird of Anstruther.

⁴ Young beardless men, feeble, dragging their limbs after them with debility.

⁵ These. ⁶ Salutation, God save you. Fr. *Dieu garde*. ⁷ Soldiers. ⁸ Doors.

supposed that the rest of the armie was saiffie returned, till a¹ day I gat in St Androis in print the wrak of the Galliates² in particular, with the names of the principall men, and whow they war usit in Yrland and our Hilands, in Walles, and uther partes of Eingland; the quhilk when I recordit to Jan Gomes, be particular and speciall names, O then he cryed out for greiff, bursted and grat.³ This Jan Gomes schew grait kyndnes to a schipe of our town, quhilk he fund arrested at Calles at his ham-coming, red to court for hir, and maid grait rus⁴ of Scotland to his King, tuk the honest men to his hous, and inquiryt for the Lard of Anstruther, for the Minister, and his host, and send hame manie commendationes. Bot we thanked God with our hartes, that we haid sein tham amangs us in that forme.

That [15]88 yeir was also maist notable for the deathe of Quein Mother of France, Catherin de Medicis, bludie Jezabell to the Sanctes of God, wha then was callit to hir recompence. As also the maist remarkable wark of God's Justice in repeying the twa cheiff executors of that horrible carnage and Massacre of Paris, making, first, King Hendrie to cause his Gard stik the Duc of Guise, under trest, with the Cardinall of Lorean: And syne a Jacobin Frier, of that ordour quhilk the King did maist for, maist treasonable to stik the King. The Lord working be maist wicked instruments, maist wyslie and justlie! [The Duc and Cardinall war slean in December [15]88; the Quein, for hartsearnes, followit⁵ in Januar; and the King was sticked⁶ the August following.⁷]

Thus God glorefiet his name maist remarkable in justice against the graittest enemies of his Kirk, and sweit mercie and favour towards his: for by the continuance of pace in this Yll, the Kirks of France, from almaist a desperat esteat, becam mair and mair to be confortid, betterit, and at last releivit. In the [15]85 and [15]86 yeirs, all the Protestants war chargit af France within sic a day,

¹ One.² Galleons.³ Sobbed and wept.⁴ Praise, commendation.⁵ Followed her husband, dying of a broken heart.⁶ Stabbed.⁷ Margin of MS.

under pean of lyff, lands, guidis, and gear; sa that the number of banished in Eingland war sa grait, and the pure of tham so manie, that they war compelled to seik releiff of us for the saming. And to the glorie of God I remember it, in the pure bounds I haid under charge at the first beginning of my ministerie, we gatherit about fyve hounder marks for that effect; [bot few or nan did samikle, as be the smalnes of the soum may appeir.] The soum of the hail collection quhilk the Frenche Kirks gat extendit bot till about ten thowsand marks, as thair acquittances and letters of thanksgiffing beares, quhilk I haiff in custodie, delyverit to me be the Generall Assemblie to translat in Scottes, and set furthe to close the mouthes of invyfull sklanderars, wha gaiff out that that collection was maid for an uther purpose. As also, the collection maid for the town of Geneva, wharfore¹ we gat mair thanks by a Letter of Theodor du Bez, in the name of the Senat and Kirk thairof, nor it was all worthe, readie to be productit.

Nochtwithstanding of the Lord's judgments that yeir upon Papists, yit efter the spreit of the serpent wharwith they are led, altho cut and deadlie woundit in divers partes, nevertheles war ever steiring and menassing. Sa that divers practeisars and trafectars, Jesuistes, Seminarie Preists, and uther emissars of the Antichryst crape in the countrey, and kythed² dangerus effects in divers partes, namlie, in the Northe and Southe. And, thairfor, the maiest wacryff³ and cearfull of the breithring, everie an warning and moving uthers, as the custome of the Kirk of Scotland was from the beginning, conveyned at Edinbruche in the monethe of Januar the sam year, and gaiff in to the King and Counsall the Petitiones following:

THE KIRK'S HUMBLE PETITION TO HIS MAJESTIE AND COUNSALL
FOR PREVENTION OF THE DANGERS THREATNED TO THE PROFES-
SION OF THE TREW RELIGION WITHIN THIS REALME. JAN. 1588.

"THAT it may please his Majestie giff command, bathe to parti-

¹ For which.

² Produced, manifested.

³ Wakeful, watchful.

cular Presbyteries, and sic uther ministers, and barrones, and gentilmen, as salbe thought meit, to convey and consult upon the readiest remedies of thir dangers appeirand, sa oft as they sall think expedient, and to report thair opinionones and advyses to his Majestie betwix this and the xx. day of Januar.

"That it may please his Hienes to forbear, in tyme to cum, to interpon his Privie Letters or discharges to the Kirk for steying of thair proceeding with thair censures against the Papists, when as they can nocht be reclaimed be lawfull admonitiones.

"That Commissiones may be directed to sum specialles of his Hienes' Counsall, best affected and of graittest powar to serche, seik, and apprehend and present to justice all Jesuistes and uthers, privat or publict seducers of his Hienes' leiges, and that the saids Commissioners may be instantlie named, and a day apointed to the report of thair diligences in that behalff.

"That sum specialles of the ministerie, assisted with sum weill affected barrones or uther gentilmen, may be authorized with his Hienes' Commission and licence, to pas to everie quarter of this realme; and ther, be meanes that they find meittest, try and exploir what Noble-men, Burrowes, Barrones, and uthers of anie rank or calling, profes the Relligion, and will joyne afaulddie¹ in the defence thairof, and wha will nocht; and that a day be appointed, in lyk maner, for reporting of thair diligence.

"That seing the special occasion of the sinister suspitiones conceavit of his Hienes' synceritie in the treuthe, and that inanimates² the Papists maist, is his autoritie and service put in the hands of Papists, under whase winges all Jesuistes, and uthers devoted to that superstitioun, findes countenance and confort: That, for remead thairof, it may pleis his Majestie to purge his Hous, Counsall and Sessioun, and to reteire his powar of Lieutenantdrie, Wardanrie, and uther his auctoritie whatsumever, from all and whatsumever persones, avowit or suspected to be Papists; and to let proclamations be immediatlie directed for publication of his Hienes' guid

¹ Sincerely, without duplicity.

² Encourages, inspirits.

intention and meaning in that behalf, to the confusion of the Papists and thair patrones, and confort of the godlie, offendit, this tyme bygean, with thair lang intolerance and oversight.

“FINIS.”

Thir Petitiones presented be us to his Majestie and Counsall war granted, and thairefter meitting, Commissionars war nominat throuhout all the partes of this land, to put in execution the things cravit; wharupon an Act of Counsall and Proclamation past out exstant in print. The sam day, it was thought guid that a certean could be nominat to consult in privat concerning the best and maist reddie way of the said execution, wharof was ten of Noble men, lawers, and burgeses, viz. the Erle of Angus, Guid Archbald, the Erle Mareschall, Mr [of] Glames, Thesaurar, the Lard of Louchleaven, the Clark Register, Mr Jhone Scharpe, Mr Thomas Crag, Mr Jhone Nicolsons, Jhone Jhonestone of Elphistone, and Jhone Adamsone; and ten of the Ministrie, viz. Mr Andro Malvin,¹ Mr Robert Pont, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lindsay, Mr Andro Hay, Mr Thomas Bowchanan, Mr Patrik Galloway, Mr Nicol Dalglas, Mr Andro Mill, and my self: Wha, meitting the sam day at efter noone, efter lang reasoning and advysment, thought it maist expedient and neidfull, First, that the said execution could be without deley, in respect of the imminent danger; nixt, that forsamikle as ther war thrie rankes of enemies—the first of cheiff meanteiners of Papists and Papistrie; the second of Jesuists, Seminarie Preists, and Trafectars; the thrid of allowars, receavears, and interteiners of these in thair housses, and partakers of thair purposes and ydolatrie—It was thought best that the first sort could be chargit to warde; the second apprehendit at unawars² and punished; the thrid proceedit against conforme to the lawes of the countrey; and being found culpable, to be punished accordinglie. And, last, to the intent that sa weghtie a mater might be solidlie advysit and sett doun in all pointcs, the Clark Register, Alexander Hay, Mr Jhone

¹ Melvill.

² Suddenly, unaware.

Scharpe, Mr Thomas Crag, and uthers, war requested to tak tyme and panse¹ upon the mater, and everie ane severalie sett down thair judgment in writ. The quhilk being conferrit togidder, conclusion was taken and reported to his Majestie, wharof proceedit the acts and proclamations, and commissiones soone efter published in print.

At the sam tyme, in that Convention war appointed certean Commissioners and Breithring to meit everie ouk in Edinbruche for consulting upon maters pertaining to the weill of the Kirk in sa dangerous a tyme, viz. Alexander Hay, Clark Register, Mr Jhone Lindsay, Lord of Session, Mr Jhone Scharpe, Mr Thomas Crag, Mr Jhone Skein, Mr Jhone Nicolsons, Advocats, Wilyeam Lytle, Provost of Edinbruche, Jhone Jhonstone, Jhone Adamsone, Hendrie Charters, Burgesses of Edinbruche, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lindsay, and Mr Robert Pont, Ministers.

Also the King's Ministers, with sum uther breither, war appointed to travell with his Majestie for a proclamation to be sett furthe, to let all his subjects understand his Hienes' zeall and cair for repurg-ing of the land of Papistrie, and meaintenance of the trew religion : And to desyre his Majestie of new again, now in his perfyt age, to subscrivye the Confession of Faithe maid ; and renew the charge giffen in his minoritie to all his subjects to subscrivye the saming ower again. The quhilk also was obtained and published in print.

It was fordar ordeanit that all Commissioners and Moderators of Presbyteries in all partes sould be cairfull to haiff intelligence of all maters concerning Religion and weill of the Kirk withyn thair boundes, and to mak advertisement of the saming from tyme to tyme to the forsaid Commissioners appointed ouklie to convey in Edinbruche.

Item, ther was a Generall Assemblie appointed to be hauldin at Edinbruche the saxt of Februar following ; and the Provinciaill Assemblies in everie schyre to be endit befor the xxij. of that instant Januar. For the quhilk cause, it was thought necessar that

¹ Reflect, study. Fr. *penser*.

the Commissioners of Provinces, and everie Minister within thair awin bounds, sould inform all weill-affectioned gentlemen to Relligioun, of the attempts of Papists, and imminent danger thairby, and of the libertie granted to convey be his Majestie and Counsell, wherby they may be moved to tak Commissiones from Synods without feall to keipe the Generall Assemblie, and mak it frequent.¹

And, last, as concerning Jesuistes, Seminarie Preists, and uthers deceavers of the peiple, it was ordeanit that [at] thair nixt Synods charge sould be giffen to everie Minister to declar tham excommunicat out of pulpit, at thair return immediatlie to thair awin kirks, that the peiple may bewar of thame, and siclyk the companie of sic as favours, interteines tham in thair housses, or hes anie thing to do with thame : And for that effect everie Minister to haiff thair names inrollit. At this Convention my uncle moderat, and I wrot.

That Generall Assemblie in Februar was verie frequent of noble and gentlemen. Thairat the Greives of everie Province and Presbyterie war giffen in, wherby it might be easelie perceavit whow horriblie the land was defyled all throuchout, bot namlie in the Northe and Southe, with Papistrie, Superstitione, blodsched, and all sort of villanie. Upon the quhilk, regrates, grives, compliments, and petitiones, war formed and presented to the King and Counsell for punishment and redres, quhilk war ower lang and tedius to be registrat. And the breithring steired upe to wakryffnes² and diligence, in watching over thair floks and cairing for the hail Kirk.

For conclusion of this mervelus yeir, I can nocht forget my particular, seing that it is my speciall purpose to recompt the gratius working of my God with me. He corrected me sweetlie in taking from me at the beginning thair of my litle sone Andro ; bot recompenced the sam again maist bountifullie, in giffing me another Andro, born that sam yeir, in the monethe of August : Sa the Lord taks, the Lord giffes, blessed be the nam of the Lord for ever !

¹ Well frequented, numerous attended.

² Wakefulness.

The bairn was fallon beautifull,¹ loving, and mirrhie, and seimed to be of a fyne sanguine constitution till a quarter efter he was speaned;² bot syne, wither be wormes or a hectik consumption, I knaw nocht, bot his fleche and cullor fealed, and be the space of a quarter of yeir consumed and dwyned³ away, keiping alwayes the sweitest and pleasandest ei that could be in annes heid.⁴ I was accustomed to sett him at the end of the table in tyme of denner and supper, as the Egyptians did the picture of dead,⁵ till acquent me thairwith; and yit, when he died, I mervelit at my awin hart that was sa ured⁶ and moved with it, sa that yit, when I wrot this, I was nocht frie of the bowdnings of the bowelles of that naturall affection. And if we that ar erdlie⁷ wormes can be sa affected to our childring, what a love beares that heavinlie Father to his? He was my first propyne and hansell⁸ to heavin. I can nocht forget a strange thing at his deathe. I haid a pear of fyne milk whait doves,⁹ quhilk I fed in the hous: The ane wharof that day of his deathe could nocht be haldin af his cradle, bot stopped from sitting above it, crape in and sitt in under it, and died with him: The uther, at my hamcoming on the morn, as I was washing my hands, cam, lighted at my futt, and pitiuslie crying, "Pipe, pipe, pipe!" ran a litle away from me. Then I called for peyes and beanes¹⁰ to giff it; bot they schew me it wald nocht eatt. I tuk it upe, and put pikles in the mouthe of it, bot it schuk tham out of the throt; and parting from me with a pitifull piping, within twa or thrie houre died also.

I maid on him this EPITAPHE.

A sojournar in London, I thie gat,
 At hame, in tyme of trouble, thow was born,
 The babbes for beautie thought maist diligat,
 Thy beautie seim'd yit farder till adorn.

¹ The child was extremely beautiful. ² Weaned. ³ Pined. ⁴ The pleasantest eye that could be in any one's head. ⁵ Death. ⁶ Probably troubled, wrung.

In the form *urisum*, *urusum*, or *ooriesome*, it is more commonly met with in MSS.

⁷ Earthly. ⁸ Present and offering. ⁹ A pair of fine milk-white pigeons.

¹⁰ Pease and beans.

As Democrit thow first the world did skorn,
 For to refraishe the mynd a meakles marrow ;¹
 Syn to beweall my wickednes forlorn,
 The tears of Heraclit thow seimed to borrow.

I set thie in my sight at evin and morrow,
 My hart till humble, acquainting me with deathe :
 But, O the love of parents ! what a sorrow
 Did sease on me, fra th' anes thow lost thy breathe !

Oh ! first lyk pleasand floure on erthe thow grew !
 Syne dwyn'd to dead, with doves² to heavin thow flew !

This page, if thow be a pater³ that reids it, thow wilt apardone me. If nocht, suspend thy censure till thow be a father, as said the grave Lacedemonian, Agesilaus.

The ministerie of Mr Robert Bruce was verie steadable⁴ and mightie that yeir, and divers yeirs following, maist confortable to the guid and godlie, and maist feirfull to the enemies : Sa that it was sensabilie perceavit that as God haid substitut to Mr Knox, Mr Lowsone ; sa haid he provydit Mr Robert to supplie that in-leak.⁵ The godlie, for his puissant and maist moving doctrine, lovit him ; the warldlings, for his parentage and place, revered him ; and the enemies, for bathe, stude in aw of him. The Chancellor, Mr Jhone Metellan,⁶ enterit in speciall frindschipe with him, Mr Andro, and me, and keipit trew and honest till the day of his deathe. He helde the King upon twa groundes sure, nather to cast out with the Kirk nor with Eingland. Whowbeit he haid maid informationes to him of guid men by⁷ the treuthe, to win him court at the beginning in the Duc his dayes, quhilk he wald fean haiff mendit, bot could nocht.

¹ A matchless companion. ² Doves, in allusion to the above story. ³ Parent, father. ⁴ Serviceable, profitable. ⁵ Deficiency. ⁶ Maitland. ⁷ Against, contrary to.

M.D.LXXXIX.

The yeir following ther fell out a mater in St Androis that wrought heavie and grait trouble to the best and honestest men in all that town, and quhilk occupied me mikle and sear;¹ bathe in mynd and body, manie yeirs efter. The occasion wherof was this:

The Bischope haid lurked a yeir or twa lyk a tod² in his holl, as his custom was when things framed nocht with him; and, indeid, be the Chancellor's moeyen, efter he was joyned with us, the King's opinion and lyking was far diverted from him. He devyses in this mean tyme a mischeiff to be revengit upon his mislykers, and steires up a jakman³ of his, called Hendrie Hamilton, to quarrell a Maister of the Universitie, Mr Wilyeam Walwode, Professour of the Lawes, a man bathe in blude and affinitie joyned neir to the maist honest in all the town, knawing weill that bathe sic of the Universitie and town that lyked him nocht, wald tak part with the said Mr Wilyeam. This Hendrie comes upon the Hie-gett, Mr Wilyeam going to the Principal's Lessone of the New Collage, and efter quarreling words, touks⁴ him and striks him with the gardes of his sword. Mr Wilyeam plantes⁵ to the Rector, wha calling the said Hendrie befor him, efter cognition, depryves him of his name of Maister, (for he was maid Maister,) and ordeanes him to mak a humble satisfaction to Mr Wilyeam in the sam place whar he injourit him. This he refusing to do, the complainer meined his cause to the Lords of Session, wha gaiff out compulsitors upon the Rector's decreit, wherwith the said Hendrie being chargit, first be the moeyen of a certean wicked men, misgyders of the town, favorars of the Bischope, and haters of thair honest and guid nibours, onlie for their vertew, he is receaved in the number of the citiciners, and maid burges. Then he comes dissimulatlie to the Rector, desyring the execution of the charges to be superceidit, and promisit to mak a mends to Mr Wilyeam on the Hie-streit sic an day. Be this Mr Wilyeam is secoure, and within a day or twa addresses

¹ Sore. ² Fox.
as bullies. Fr. *jaque*.

³ Jackmen were armed retainers, who generally acted
⁴ *Tugs*, or pulls him violently. ⁵ Complains.

him to his ordinar Lessone of the Lawes within the Auld Collage, and going from his hous in the town to the Collage, his gown on, his book in the a hand, and sand-glass in the uther, meditating on his Lessone, Hendrie Hamiltone ushes¹ out of a hous, where he lay in wait for bloode, and unbeseating² Mr Wilyeam, with the first strak³ wounds him in the hand and mutilats him, and haid proceidit fordar, giff be sum gentle men passing that way he haid nocht been steyed. Mr Wilyeam is lead to his mother's hous crewallie woundit; the newes wharof gaes amang his frinds, they ryse and rine togidder in armes to assist the Bailyies for justice. Bot an of the Bailyies being upon the conspiracie, refusing thair assistance, brings the murderar, accompanied with the Bischopes guid brother, James Arthour, called comounlie Jaques, and a officer or twa and na ma,⁴ and in plane provocation, by the teithe of the partie, convenit befor Mr Wilyeam's mother's stare, yet whar he was lying with his wound bleiding, sa that it could nocht be steamide.⁵ The quhilk, his brother and brother-in-law seing, could nocht abyde, bot making a mint,⁶ maid the lown to flie, and steirit upe a grait tumult of all sort rinning togidder in armes, Universitie, citie, and gentle men being in the town for the tyme. In this tumult naine is sa bissie to schow his manreid⁷ in feghting as the said Jaques Arthour, and meitting with his marrow,⁸ with rapper and dagger, missing his ward, he gettes a porh⁹ at the left pape, wharof he dies. His corps is brought to a cheirurgian's boothe and sighted ther, and sought be his frinds and a number in publict, and fund to haiff that onlie a point streak of a rapper sword,¹⁰ be whom giffen na man could certeanlie knaw, sum suspecting an, and sum another. Mr Wilyeam's brother, Jhone, persewes efter Hamilton; wha, crying for mercie, and randring him selff, obtaines mercie at the said Jhone's hand, and be him is brought out and delyverit to the Bailyies againe.

¹ Issues. ² Besetting, attacking. ³ Stroke. ⁴ No more. ⁵ Stemmed, staunched. ⁶ Attempt. ⁷ Manfulness. It also implies his obligation, as a feudal retainer bound, by bond of *manred* or *manrent*, to fight in his superior's quarrels. ⁸ Match, equal. ⁹ Thrust, stab. ¹⁰ Rapier or small sword.

The tumult steying, the honest men goes to thair houses, ignorant altogidder of anie evill done, namlie of the slauchter of the said Jaques. Amangs the rest, an [James Smithe,] a man of singular qualities, graitlie beloved of all godlie and guid men for his vertew and guid conditiones, and asmikle invyed and hated be the wicked, is warned be divers that loved him, that ther was a man slaine, and the mater was dangerus, prayed him thairfor to hauld him self quyet and out of the way for a tyme. The quhilk he refused, reposing on his innocencie, and saying they haid sufferit wrang in the persone of thair frind, bot haid done nane. Incontinent, the Bailyies comes to the hous of the said honest man, better accompanied nor when they convoyit Hamiltone to the Tolbuthe, and charges him in the King's name to go to warde with thame. He willinglie obeyes and gaes with thame, and sa does the rest, to the number of nyne or ten.

These simple foulles, this way fangit¹ in the net of these craftie hountars, (wharin the partis of all I could pent out, ² particularlie giff my purpose permitted,) war from the Tolbuthe brought to the Provest's hous, wha, withe the Bischope and rest of the misreaulars³ of the town, war all under a complot, resolving then to be weill revengit upon those honest men, wha, at the ham-coming of the Lords out of Eingland, haid sought redres of manie grait abuses and inormities committed be the saids misrewlars of St Androis, luiking that all things then sould haiff bein corrected and sett in guid ordour—that Yuill comoun they thought to repey weill now at Pasch.⁴

Sa they ar summoned to a day of law in Edinbruche, whar, understanding the law to be streat,⁵ and wanting the Prince's favour, quhilk was caried by⁶ tham be the Bischope's faction, and thairwith-all craftelie abusit be thair feinyied⁷ frinds, they ar brought in effect to com in the will of the partie, wha decernes upon thame all banisment furthe of the town during thair will; and upon twa in speciall, to wit, James Smithe, to whase worthie praise I spak be-

¹ Caught, secured. ² Depict. ³ Misrulers. ⁴ A proverbial expression, denoting that they would handsomely repay their Yuill or Christmas reckoning at Easter. ⁵ Stringent, strict. ⁶ Past. ⁷ Feigned, pretended.

for, and Jhone Walwode, brother to the said Mr Wilyeam, banishment out of the countrey, upon grait soumes of contravention and sure caution. By this malitius craftie devys and convoy war these guid honest men thus wayes maist innocentlie and unjustlie vexed and banished out of the realme from thair wyffes and childring [sax yeires,] and at thair retourning warse¹ handlit, as we sall heir in the awin place. Bot as the Bischope, withe the rest of the misrewlars of that town, war the beginnars, sa I can nocht omit unmentioned a maist vennemus and malitius prosecutor, whase unplacable hatred and insatiable gredines of these honest men's gear was sic, as na kynd of dealling, credit, favour, or requeist of men of all sortes, rankes, and degries within the countrey, employed earnestlie for to brak and mitigat him, could purchas nor procure ony kynd of dres² at his hand. This was Mr Jhone Arthour, stubburnlie and despytfullie refusing all reasone; for this speciall cause, for that the Ministers favorit tham, inspyrit, but question,³ be the spreit contrar to Chryst and his Ministers. The pretence of his malice and avarice was, that as he wald affirme against all the warld and treuthe it selff, that James Smithe was the slayer of his brother, against whom James haid never anie querrell, nor cam near him that day; bot was cleirly sein and knawin to be a pair of buttes lainthe⁴ from him when he was slaine; and farder, fyve hounder saw that onlie a porhe of a rapper,⁵ wharof he died, haiffing na kynd of stroak or wound ma,⁶ and everie man spyed James' sword that day to be a brad sword.⁷ Bot the treuthe was, James was ritche, honest, and upright, verteus in his calling, and the uther pure,⁸ debauchit, greidie, and neidie, and thairwithal a lawer, attending on Session, and wating to mak his prey of the soumes of contravention, quhilk war grait and large, or then thair æquivalent be composition; for he kend they could nocht, nor wald nocht, byde out of thair awin countrey.

The mere pitie and indignation of my hart (as the Cerschar of hartes knawes!) maid me to indevor what I could for the helpe

¹ Worse. ² Redress. ³ Without a doubt. ⁴ A butt's length, in archery, being about 200 yards for *rovers*, and 80 yards for point-blank or butt-shooting.
⁵ Only one thrust of a rapier. ⁶ More. ⁷ Broad-sword. ⁸ Poor.

and confort of that honest man, in speciall. Lykas ther was na honest or godlie man in the land wha ather knew him or hard of him bot meined his ceas,¹ and moyenned² for it as they might, bot na grace was to be fund at a graceless man's hand.

About the middes of that yeir 1589, François, Erle of Bothewall, tuk up bands of men of weare, under the conduct of Coronell Hakerston, under pretence to tak ordour with the Ylles, bot it preived, in end, a Spanishe Papisticall course, as is discovered in the buik of the execution of Fyntrie.³ His Capteanes, leading his men langs the cost syde, opprest and troublēt the townes thairof, evill favored by going and returning anes. The second tyme they enterit to compas and visit ower againe, and cam to Kirkady, sending thair furriours⁴ and commissars befor, to prepear for tham sum pices of armour and interteinment. But Carell, Anster,⁵ and Pittenweim, with assistance of sum gentilmen of the countrey about, resolved to resist and fecht tham. The quhilk when I perceaved, I maid hast to Court, and informed the King of the abbis and commotion that was lyk to be, and purchassed Letters to discharge the Capteanes from proceeding any farther, and if they wald nocht, to warrand the subjects to resist. The Erle, being Admirall, discharges the bottes at Leithe from giffing me passage; bot, taking journey to the Quein's-ferrie, I cam with sic diligence as I could; bot or I cam,⁶ the Coronell, with his men of wear, war fean to tak the steiple of St Monians on thair head, utherwayes haid gottin sic wages payed tham as wald haiff interteined tham all thair dayes. And yit insisting, they brak the apointment quhilk the Tutor of Pitcure (that notable Provost of Dondie) maid betwix tham and the towns, and cam fordwart to Pittenweim; bot, at my coming with the King's discharge to tham, and warrand to our townes to resist, in cais of disobedience, they war fean to reteire and leave af. Sa it

¹ Bemoaned his case.

² Used *moyen* or influence.

³ David Grahame

of Fintry, who was executed Feb. 15, 1592.

⁴ Forayers, foragers. Here it

denotes Quarter-masters.

⁵ Craill, Anstruther.

⁶ But before I came.

pleased God to keipe from blod-schedding, and releive our townes of a grait feir and vexation.

In the beginning of wintar, the King, accompanied with the Chancellor and certean uthers of the Counsall, with twa of the Ministerie, in very secret maner imbarkit, few knowing till he was away, and landit at Upslaw in Norroway, efter mikle foull wather of a stormie wintar, and from that travelit be land to Denmark, throw manie woods and wildernes, in confermed frost and snaw, and thair married his Quein Anne, and maid guid cheir, and drank stoutlie till the spring tyme. At his departing, he apointed Mr Robert Bruce to be on the Counsall, and recommendit the esteat of his countrey to him, and the Ministerie in speciall, reposing, as he professit, upon him and tham above all his Nobles. And, indeid, he was nocht disapointed, for of the favour of God thair was never a mair peaceble and quyet esteat of the countrey nor¹ during that tyme of the King's absence: Sa that, whar befor or sen syne, few monethes, yea oukes, was ther without sum slauchter, ther was na sic thing during that tyme.

Boduell² cam then in publict, and of his awin accord maid his repentance befor Mr Robert Bruce, in the Kirk of Edinbruche, for his licentious, dissolut lyff, and all his bypast sinnes; and promised, be God's grace, to kythe³ another man in tyme coming, &c.⁴ Bot it was a taking of God's name in vean, and publict abusing of him selff and the Lord's peiple; and thairfor the Lord cursed him, for na thing succedit weill with him thairefter.

M.D.XC.

In the spring tyme of the yeir following, the Generall Assemblie conveyned at Edinbruche. At quhilk diligent tryall being taken, it was fund, that na steirage⁵ at all was in the countrey of Papists, of theiffes, or anie trubelsome inordinat persones. Wharof the breithring praisit God, and apointed, efter the ordour that the Kirk

¹ Than.

² The Earl of Bothwell.

³ Turn out, manifest himself to be.

⁴ See *Bruce's Sermons*, Wod. Soc. Edit.

⁵ There was no stir or movement.

of Edinbruche haid taken upe, that thair sould be fasteing and moderat dyet usit everie Sabathe till the King's returning. The quhilk custom being found verie meit for the exerceise of the Sabathe, was keipit in Edinbruche, in the housses of the godlie, continualie thairafter. Sa that sparing thair gros and sumptuous dinners, they usit nocht bot a dishe of brothe, or sum litle recreation, till night ; and that quhilk was sparit was bestowit on the pure. Boduell resorted to that Assemblie, and, keiping hous in the Abbay in the King's awin housses, he haid the Quein of Eingland be hir Ambassator ordinar, (Mr Robert Bowes, wha ley at Edinbruche, a verie godlie man, and to his uttermaist loving and cairfull of the peace and weill of the twa realmes of Eingland and Scotland,) to be his commer,¹ and Mr Robert Bruce, my uncle, and me, being Moderator of that Assemblie, invited now and then to guid cheir, haiffing sum grait purpose and to luik in hand ; bot he wes never lukkie nor honest to God nor man.

At this Assemblie it was ordeanit, That all and everie Minister that haid ma Kirks nor ane² in cure sould demit the rest, and tak him till ane only. Also that the townes of Edinbruche, Dondie, Stirling, and St Androis, sould aggrie with sic as they thought meit for tham, and report againe to the Assemblie for thair transportation. Upon the quhilk I was earnestlie delt with be all the saids townes ; bot the love of my awin flok and Presbyterie, and vicinitie of my uncle in St Androis, permitted me nocht to condescend unto tham. For this my parochiners aggredit amangs tham selves to big me a hous ; bot being undertaken, as it comes of comoun warkes, it fealit. Thairfor my God and heavinlie Father, the giffar and provyder for me of all guid things, put in my hart to tak the wark in hand my self ; and, albeit I haid nocht fourtie pound in readie money, yit furnesit all things so stranglie to me, that annes begoun, it ley never a day till it was compleit, God haiffing sum confort to minister to his awin servants thairby, from tyme to tyme, thairafter. It was begun the 5th of Junij, and endit with October following, 1590.

¹ Intimate friend, companion, "gossip."

² More than one ; a plurality of livings.

In the yeir 1590, the King, accompanied with his Quein, cam hame the first of May, to the grait joy and contentment of all the countrey. Divers practeses of witchcraft and devilrie¹ was against him, as he was certified of thairefter, bot the mercifull and mightie hand of God watched over him, and preserved him at the earnest prayers of his fathfull servands the Ministers, whom then he acknowlagit to be his maist fathfull freinds. Within a monethe or twa efter his retourn was keipit a maist solemne action and magnific of the Quein's Coronation, and entres in Edinbruche; at the quhilk my uncle, Mr Andro, in favour of the Ambassatours sent from divers Duces and Princes of Almanie and Flanders, maid and pronuncit an Oration in vers to the grait admiration of the heirars, and thair exceiding joy and contentment, namlie of bathe thair Majesties. The King gaiff him grait thankes, saying, he haid sa honored him and his countrey that day, that he could never requyt him; and thairefter wald insist farder, and command him to giff the sam to the printar, that with diligence it might be exped, for ther was nan of the Ambassadors bot haid maid him requeist for that effect. And, indeid, this was the wark of God, to haiff his awin servand honored, for Mr Andro haid nocht bein warnit to this Coronation in anie convenient tyme, and haid na thing preparit bot sic as cam in his meditation a night or twa, anent the right way of rewling and goverment, the quhilk he utterit with a mervelus dexteritie and grace; and, at the King's comand, the morn efter the pronouncing, gaiff it to the printar, with an epigram of dedication to the King, and intitulat the ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ. The copies of it past throw all Europe, and was mikle esteimed of be the lernit. Josephus Scaliger wrait to him congratulating, and said, "Nos talia non possumus." Lipsius, reiding it, said, "Revera Andreas, Melvinus est serio doctus." Be the quhilk occasion, as often befor and sen syne, all the lerned in a maner lamented that he wald nocht set him selff to wryt, quhilk was mikle meined² to him be all his frinds, bot he said, that God haid callit him to use his tounge and vive voice yit; when he fand

¹ See *Pitcairn's Ancient Crim. Trials*, I. 209-223.

² Complained, lamented.

the calling and warrand for the pen, quhilk God wald giff if he thought it guid, he sould do thairefter.

The apointed ordinar Generall Assemblie was keipe at Edinbruche in August, at the quhilk it behoved me to mak the exhortation. I cam to the Kingorn the night befor, and, imbarking with certean breithring, we cam within a myle and les to Leithe; bot a contrarie wind coming just in our teithe when we haid usit all meanes be burding¹ and rowing, we war compellit to go bak againe, with a foull schoure, and landit at Brintyland, whar na horses war to be gottin, and being past sax hours at evin, I was to enter in jorney on my feit to go about; when God, respecting his awin wark, send the wound in the wast² with a pleasand fear night; and sa finding be the sam Providence a lytle schollab,³ reposing on him whase turn⁴ was in hand, we tuk the sie, and gat verie fear passage, and cam to Edinbruche even as nyne of the night strak, obtaining of God's mercie that night's repose, quhilk I luiked nocht for, to inable me for the morne's action.

It sall nocht be impertinent to remember sum pointcs of the doctrine uttered at that tyme upon the 1 Thess. v., ver. 12, 13.

The text being soumed and opened up, thir heades war insisted into:—First, anent the weght of the charge of the Ministerie; nixt, anent the honour thair of; thridlie, whow neidfull *voudesia*, rebuk or admonition, was in the Kirk and amangs breithring. Upon this last head, occasion was takin to speak at lainthe of disciplin, quhilk also at mair lainthe I thought pertinent heir till insert, because the course of the cheiff mater of this storie rinnes upon that.

First, That discipline was maist necessar in the Kirk, seing without the saming, Chryst's Kingdome could nocht stand. For, unles the Word and Sacraments war keipit in sinceritie, and rightlie usit and practesit be direction of the discipline, they wald soone be corrupted. And, thairfor, certean it was, that without sum discipline, na Kirk without trew discipline, na rightlie Reformed Kirk; and without the right and perfytt discipline, na right and perfytt Kirk.

¹ Tacking.

² Sent the wind into the west.

³ Shallop.

⁴ Business.

[At this the Einglishe Ambassatour, being present, sturred,¹ and conferrit with me thairefter at lainthe, whom I satisfieit.²] This was cleirlye declarit be the exemples of a republiet and citie, and of artes of warfear and pastorage. The storie of the giffing, beginning, continowing, brak and restoring againe of the trew discipline within the Kirk of Scotland, was recompted and callit to remembrance; and thairupon exhortation giffen to dell³ with his Majestic in maist grave and instant maner, That his Majestie wald schaw that taken⁴ of trew thankfulnes to God for the grait benefit of his saiff preservation and retourning with his Quein from Denmark, as to reschinde and abolishe obscure and dangerus lawes maid in prejudice of the discipline and libertie of Chryst's Kingdome within this realme, haiffing fund, in guid experience, in his absence, as alwayes befor, the guid will, fidelitie, love, and cear⁵ of the Ministerie as of thair God, and Chryst Jesus his King, be him anointed and sett over all, whase cause this was quhilk he haid put in the hands of his pure servants, &c.

Also, the hail breithring war earnestlie exhorted to studie the discipline diligentlie, and practise it cearfullie, that they might be able at all ocasioness to stand in defence thair of, as it hes bein of God's grait favour with the treuthe of the doctrine sett down out of the Word of God; and the practise of the sam fund maist halsome and profitable within the Kirk of Scotland. And that at this tyme, for thrie causes, namlie; first, because of the esteat of the godlie, guid, and zealus breithring in Eingland, our nibour Kirk, standing for the treuthe thair of, and searlie⁶ suffering for the sam. Secondlie, because these Amaziases, belli-god Bischopes in Eingland, be all moyen, yea and money, war seikand conformitie of our realme with thairs, till invert and pervert our Kirk, as did Achaz and Urias with the King and Altar of Damascus. Thridlie, because we haid lurking within our awin bowelles a poisonable and vennemus Psyllus, a warlow,⁷ I warrand yow, sa empoisoned be the vennome of that auld

¹ Objected, remonstrated.² This added by the Author on margin of MS.³ Deal.⁴ Token.⁵ Care.⁶ Sorely.⁷ Warlock, wizard.

serpent, and sa altered in his substance and naturall, that the deadlie poisons of the vipere is his familiar fluid and nuriture, to wit, lies, falshode, malice, and knaverie; wha hes bein lurking a lang tyme hatching a cocatrice eagg, and sa fynlie instructed to handle the whissall¹ of that auld inchantar, that na Psyllus, Circe, Medea, or Pharmaceutrie, could ever haiff done better. This is Patrik Adamsons, fals Bischope of St Androis, wha at this tyme was in making of a buik against our discipline, quhilk he intytles Psyllus, and dedicates to the King, the epistle dedicatorie wharof is in my hand, wharin he schawes his purpose to be, to souk out the poisons of the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, as the Psylli, a vennemus peiple in Afric, soukes out the venom of the wounds of sic as ar stangit² with serpents. But I trust in God (said I) he sall prove the foole als madlie as did these sillie Psyllies, of whom Herodot, in his Melpomene, wryttes, that they perished altogidder in this maner: When the south wound³ haid dried upe all thair conservars and cisterns of water, they tuk counsall, all in a mynd, to go against it in armes for advengement; but, coming amang the deserts and dry sandes, the wound blew hichlie and overwhelnde thame with sand, and destroyed tham everie man. Sa, I dout nocht, sall com of this obstinat, malitius foole, whilas he intends nocht onlie to stope the breathe of God's mouthe,⁴ bot also to be advengit upon it, because it hes strukken him sa, that he is blasted thairwith and dried upe, and maid voide of all sape and moisture of heavinlie lyff. But, alas! my breithring, (said I,) giff yie wald do that quhilk I think yie bathe might and sould do at this tyme, to wit, to ratefie and approve that sentence of excommunication maist justlie and ordourlie pronuncit against that vennemus enemie of Chryst's Kingdome, as I am assurit it is ratefeit in the heavines, as cleirly may appeir be the effects thair of, na les then in the dayes of Ambrose, when Sathan sensiblie possesit sic as war delyverit to him be excommunication, he wald feill better his miserable folie, and be woun againe to Chryst, if he be of the number of the elect. The quhilk if yie do

¹ Whistle.² Stung.³ Wind.⁴ The free preaching of the Gospel.

nocht, my breithring, be a soar experience nocht lang syne past befor, I may foretell yow a thing to come, giff God in mercie for his Chryst's seak stey it nocht, that yie will find and feill yit mair pernitiualie the reserved poisone of that Psyllus in brangling¹ the discipline of the Kirk, and punissing of our undewtifull negligence.

An uther point of the doctrine then uttered I hald it nocht unprofitable heir to insert, because of the necessitie thairof yit abyding unamendit. This was anent the dewtie of the flockes to thair Pastors and watchmen. The flocks aught to love their Pastors deirlye, be this text and uther of Holie Scripture; they aught to provyde for tham all things neidfull and comfortable for this lyff, and to giff tham that honour quhilk apertaines to the ambassatours of Chryst. God biddes thee honour him in the ministerie of his worschipping, and thy salvation with the best of thy substance; and giff thow do nocht, this way, acknowlage the awnar of all thy substance and giffar thairof, thow art bot an unthankfull theiff, and nocht a lawfull possessor thairof with guid conscience, and at that day of God's justice court, thow sall heir the dome and feill the punishment of a theiff, if thow prevent nocht be repentance.

But heir our flockes excuses thamselves, saying, Our teinds ar riguruslie exacted and taken upe from us, therfor this burding lyes upon tham that gettes the teinds, &c. Answer, If men pitie [nocht?] thair awin saulles, it is na excuse for tham; for giff they war never sa sear spulyied and oppressed, wald they want the necessar fluid of the body, and reyment thairof, sa lang as they haid anie thing left, yea, or could beg or borrow? Na: They wald use the reddiest for the present necessitie, and prease to remead the oppression and wrang, by what meanes they could. And why will they nocht use the lyk for the fude and reyment of the saull and inwart man? Is it warse then the bodie? Is it nocht to be ceared for? Or is ther nocht a saull, a heavine, a hell, a God, a devill? Na, I am sure my breithring, if this doctrine soundit often in publict and privat amangs the pure famising saulles in this land, a guid number at least wald

¹ Shaking, menacing. O. Fr. *bransler*.

be walkned and moved to seik pastors on thair awin charges.¹ I speik be guid experience, I thank God for it : Tak peanes and distrust nocht God, he will work and bring furthe sum guid effect. I never saw yit a piece of fathfull peanes taken uprightlie for the honour of God, and salvation of pure saulles, bot it fand a blessing and succes worthie of all, and² it haid bein ten tymes mair. Nather yit ever knew I in Scotland a man of guid conscience, that durst in conscience come to the schaking af of the dust of his feit against anie town or congregation. And for my awin pairt, I fand ever the fault mair in the peanes of the Pastor nor³ the purs of the peiple, if they haid it. Yea, can it be possible that a man sall gean or for-dar a saull to Chryst and the lyff everlasting, and nocht receave of his purs and things of this lyff as he may spear, and it war to speare it on him self? Na, nocht possible ! for a thankfull hart getting mon giff againe ; and if nocht thankfull, na Christian ; and winning the man's hart and saull to Chryst and thie, the man him self, and what he hes, mon be at thy command in Chryst.

O bot they will say, Sall the sacrilegius then pas frie, and bruike the teinds ? Na, nocht sa : Bot let the flocks and Pastours joyne togidder, and cry and crave at the King, Counsall, and Esteattes, and be bot als earnest in that mater concerning the service of God, and the weill of thair awin saulles, as gentilmen and uthers are in things twitching thair heritage, honour, and uther civill or criminall actiones, and I will warrand they sall com speid ! For whow ather could they, or durst they, be refused in sa reasonable a petition, &c. Bot what is the Kirk's dewtie in this ceas ? That we leave na thing undone that Chryst hes put in our hands, and requyres of us, according to our office, in the rewling of his Kirk and Kingdome. Ar we the trew Kirk ? Ar we the lawfull Ministerie ? Haiff we the autoritie and powar of his schapter ?⁴ Haiff we that fyre that devores the adversar, and that hammer that braks the rokkes ? Yea,

¹ " *Nota.*—That nochtwithstanding of the ordinance of the last Assemblie, men war leathe to quyt the multitud of Kirks, saying, ther wald na stipends be gottin to Kirks, and men could nocht enter to charges without stipends." Margin of MS.

² If.

³ Than.

⁴ Sceptre.

and haiff we nocht that scharpe twa-eagit sword? or is it scharpe and drawin onlie against the pure and mean annes,¹ and nocht potent in God for owerthrowing of hauldes, for doing vengeance upon haill nationes, chestesing of peiples, yea, binding of kings in channes, and the maist honourable princes in fetters of yron, to execut upon tham the judgment wryttin? And, finalie, is thair exception ather of persones or sinnes befor the judgment seat of Chryst? or sall his sword or censour strik upon the pure adulterar or furnicator being *contumax*,² and ly in the scabart rusting from the sacrilegius, suffering tham to go on contemptiuslie obstinat? Na, na! deir breithring, I man utter the advys that God hes put in my hart, submitting alwayes my spreit to the prophettes.

First, I wald the King's Majestie sould be traveled withe for his favour and concurrence, wha is neir als far hurt in this mater as the Kirk is. We haiff his will; we haiff his promise; we haiff manifold exemples and reasones to ley befor him. We, and the graittest and best number of our flockes, haiff bein, ar, and mon be, his best subjects, his strynthe, his honour. A guid Minister (I speak it nocht arrogantlie, bot according to the treuthe!) may do him mair guid service in a³ houre, nor manie of his sacrilegius courteurs in a yeir, &c.

Nixt, I wald wis that from this present Assemblie war directed to the cheiff sacrilegius persones in all the schyres of this realme, chosin men of godlie gravitie and autoritie, full of the Holie Ghost, till instruct, admonise, and charge tham, in the name of God, and of his Sone Chryst Jesus, till amend but⁴ deley, &c.

Last, that a frequent and honourable Assemblie war keipit, assisted be the King's awin presence in persone, solemnlie sanctified with the exerceis of fasting and humiliation, with a guid number of gentilmen and burgesses, directed in commission from everie parochie and brouche thairunto: Befor the quhilk certean of the specialles of these sacrilegius persones might be callit, and compeiring, inquyrit if they war of Chryst, and of the trew members of his Kirk

¹ Poor and mean ones.² Contumacious.³ One.⁴ Without.

or nocht? If they answered they war, then let them testifie it be heiring of his voice and the voice of his Kirk. If nocht, let be schawin tham that Chryst commands to hald tham as publicanes and ethnika.¹

O then, me thinks, I heir sum crying, "Will ye excommunicat tham? That will breid a grait schisme and uproare; they are the cheiff that faught for Relligion; yie will ryde with a thine court if yie want tham!" Soft, I pray you, and heir reasone. I wald ask tham, wither it war the nam or the mater of excommunication that they abhorrit and fearde? Giff it be the mater, ar they ignorant of that quhilk is sa aft dung² in thair heides, to wit, that, *ipso facto*, befor God they ar excommunicat, sa lang as indurdlie³ against thair conscience they ly under the curs of that execrable sacrilage? And as for the effects and inconvenients alleadgit, I ask onlie, if this be that dewtie that God bids us do, and requyres of us conforme to our office? When anie abyds in sinne, wherby God is dishonorit, the Kirk hurt and sklanderit, and the persone's self indangerit of condemnation, can the Pastors be answerable for the discharge of thair dewtie, except they deall with that persone be all the meanes that God prescryvit to thair calling, wharof the speciall ar the word and discipline? And if it be our dewtie, what haiff we mair to do bot to obey and do it, leaving to God the effects, quhilk ar in his hand alleanerlie?⁴

And yit to answer, by guid appeirance, this mater sall proceide sa fearlie and cleirly, that nan can repung thairto, except they will planlie ganstand God, the Kirk, the King, and all guid reasone; and, sa doing, wilbe sa weak, that they may be easilie owercom. As to thair number, it is na thing in respect of the multitude of pure saulles that wants thair spirituall fuid, and are oppressed in thair teinds, and of the number of guid men that fean wald sie Reformation. As for thair feghting for Relligion, sa did sacrilegius Achan for the inheritance of Canaan, Saull for Israell, Joab and the sonnes of Seruia⁵ for the kingdome of David; bot they war

¹ Heathen. ² Hammered. ³ Indurately. ⁴ Only, solely. ⁵ This evidently alludes to the sons of Zeruiah.—2 Sam. iii. 39; xvi. 10, &c.

nocht approved of God. It is nocht the feghtar that is commendit and allowit, but he that feghtes rightlie and lawfullie. The praise of planting of Relligion in this land apperteines to the Lord of Hostes alleanerlie, and when ever they bost of that, they fall in a dowble and hichar degrie of sacrilage, arrogating to tham the glorie of God, and that maist falslie, nocht being sa mikle as God's guid instrument.

For if they refuse that quihilk we crave, they declar evidentlie they faught never for God nor Relligion, bot for the Kirk gear, to disturbe the possessours thair of that they might invade the sam; they faught never against the Papists, bot against the titulars of the teinds and rents of the Kirk; they sett nocht tham selves to hauld out Jesuistes, bot the suddarts¹ that clamed right to Chryst's cott;² they wald nocht rut out the Seminarie Preists, bot the seid of the Kirk, guid lerning, and all relligion. Sa that if God, if Chryst, if relligion, if ministerie, salbe reclamers of the teinds and Kirk gear againe, they sall at an instant becom to tham Satan, Antichryst, Papistrie, and Jesuittes. And now if it salbe the number of sic that sall mak out our number, war it nocht better to be few? or sic courteurs to sett out our court, war it nocht better to be courtles?

Wharfor, deir breithring, (said I,) to be schort, and conclud my opinion, that it may receave ather your approbation or censure, my exhortation is, that we be cearfull till³ understand our dewtie, and what command we haiff of God in this poinct, and weying it rightlie, that we be about cairfullie to put it in practise, leaving to God the event and effect, reposing our selves, what ever fall out upon the warrand of his will, and the testimonie of a sound and upright conscience. Let us nocht say with the slugart, "Ther is a lyon in the way;" nor, for feir of stormie wound or wather, leave af to saw and schear⁴ the Lord's land. Gif Chryst and his Apostles haid sa done, the Gospell haid never bein preatched. And if these noble instruments steired up in this last age, even in this countrey, haid been

¹ Soldiers.² Coat.³ To.⁴ To sow and reap.

sa terrified, we haid never enjoyed this libertie and fruit thair of. Let us be then incuragit in the strainthe of our Almighty God, and in the authoritie of his hie calling; and the mair that sacrilegius avarice carie men away from God and Relligion, let us the mair earnestlie seik efter him, and procure the weill and confort of the saulles concredit¹ to us. And without question we salbe terrible to whatsumever enemie and contrarie powar, and sall want na guid thing. We sall feid sweitlier and better on a dishe of pottage, nor they on thair kinglie fear,² serving an³ God trewlie, and stryving with our Chryst against the unthankfull warld. It was God, even our God, wha almost by all meanes begoud⁴ the wark mervelouslie, and na les mervelouslie by all meannes hes continowed it, in despyt of all contrarie craft and powar; and the sam, our guid God, in the sam sort will croun and end it, that all praise thair of haillelie⁵ may be His, to whom be it for ever. Amen.

This doctrine and advys was weill lyked and approvit of all, bot was nocht thought expedient to be practised at that tyme be the weadome of the politik and warldlie-wyse. And siclyk concerning the Bischope, whom they perceavit to be fallin already, gif he war lettin alean;⁶ bot if he war put at, the King wald tak his part, thinking it was for his cause he war put at. Onlie this was concludit, That everie Minister sould haiff a copie of the Book of Discipline and peruse it; and everie Presbyterie sould cause thair hail members subscrivye the sam, and the refusars to be excommunicat, purposing thairby to ather cause the Bischope subscribe the sam, or then to be of new excommunicat: Bot God wrought that mater better.

The Bischope, being a man that delt deceatfullie with all, and never dischargit sa mikle as a civill dewtie according to the lawes, reposing upon the King's favour, at last the King was sa faschit⁷ with compliments of all sortes of men upon him, that he was sa often

¹ Entrusted.
all means begun.

² Fare. ³ One.
⁵ Wholly, entirely.

⁴ Against, beyond, or contrary to
⁶ Let alone. ⁷ Troubled.

denuncit to the horn, and sa lang lying registrat thairat ; and understanding thairwith that he was infamus and evill-loved be all men, he was eschamed of him, and cust him af ; and fordar, dispo- nit his lyffrent to the Duc of Lennox, with the temporalitie of the bischoprik, wherby the miserable Bischope fell in extream povertie, and thairwithall in a heavie disease of body and mynd. Bot he haid simulat¹ sa often seiknes, that nan beleived him till he was brought to sic necessitie that he was compellit to wrait to Mr Andro, my uncle, mak confession of his offences against God and him, and crave his helpe ; wha, but fordar,² visited him, and supported him sa, that the space of divers monethes he leived on his purse. At last he besought him to get him sum collection of the breithring in the town, and for thair satisfaction promised to present the pulpit, and mak publict confession. Bot whither he feiniyt excuses, or that it was sa indeid that God wald nocht permit him, I knaw nocht, bot he haid never that grace to present the pulpit againe.

In the end of that wintar he send to the Presbyterie, and maid humble sudd to be relaxed from excommunication ; and the breithring, douting whither it was that he felt the dint thair of in effect upon his conscience, or to be a mean to insinuat him in the breithring's pitie, to gett wharby to sustein him, send Mr Andro Moncreiff, of guid memorie, and me, with sum others, to try him. We fand him in a miserable esteat ; and whowsone he marked me, he plucked af the thing on his head, and cryed, "Forgiff, forgiff me, for God's seak, guid Mr James, for I haiff offendit and done wrang to yow manie wayes !" I schawing him his sine against Chryst and his Kirk, exhorted him to unfeiniyt repentance, and thairwith comforted him in the mercie of God, and forgaiff him with all my hart. Then proponing to him anent his excommunication, giff he acknowlagit it lawfullie done, and felt the force of it in his conscience, he interrupted me, and cryed pitiouslie out in these words : " Louse³ me, for Chryst seak !" dyvers tymes, over and over. The

¹ Feigned, dissembled.² Without further ado.³ Loose, absolve.

quhilk, when we reported to the breithring, with prayer and thanksgiving he was relaxit.¹

M.D.XCI.

At the Provinciall Assemblie convenied in St Androis the 6 of Apryll 1591, Mr Jhone Caldeleuche presented, in his name, to the Assemblie, certean Articles of Recantation, wryttin in Latine. The quhilk being red, the Assemblie directs Mr Andro Melvill, (chosine that yeir Rector of the Universitie, in the roum of Mr James Wilkie, latlie departed, a guid, godlie, honest man,) Mr Robert Wilkie, David Fergusone, and Mr Nicol Dalglaishe, to the said Mr Patrik Adamsone, Bischope, to crave of him, in the name of the Assemblie, a mair cleir and ample Recantation, and that in vulgare langage, that all might understand the sam. The said Bischope sendes the sam, subscriyvit with his awin hand, as efter followes :

THE RECANTATION OF P[ATRICK ARCHBISHOP OF] SANT ANDROIS, DIRECT TO THE SYNOD CONVENT AT ST ANDROIS, 6 OF APRIL 1561.

“BREITHRING, being troublet with sicknes, that I might giff confession of that doctrine wherin I hope that God sall call me, and that at his pleasour, I aught depart in an unities of Christian fathe, I thought guid to utter the saming to your Worschips, and likewise to crave your godlie Worschips' assistance, nocht for the restitution of anie warldlie pompe or pre-eminence, quhilk I lytle respect, as to remove from me the sklanders quhilk ar reasit in this countrie concerning the varietie of doctrin, specialie upon my part, wherin I protest befor God, that I haiff onlie a single respect to his glorie, and be his grace I sall abyde heirin unto my lyve's end.

“First, I confes the trew doctrine and Christian Relligion to be

¹ From the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him.

teatched and rightlie annuncit within this realme, and deteasts all Papietrie and superstition, lyk as, blessed be God, I haiff detested the sam in my hart the space of threttie yeirs, sen it pleased God to giff me the knowlage of the treuthe, wharin I haiff walkit uprightlie, alaweill heir as in uther countries, as the Lord beares me record, unto thir last dayes ; wherin, partlie for ambition and vean gloire to be preferit to my breithring, and partlie for covetousnes, I haiff possessit greideliie the pelff of the Kirk, I did undertak this office of Bischoprik, wherwith justlie the sinceirest professours of the Word hes fund fault, and hes condemnit the saming as impertinent to the office of a sinceir Pastor of God's Word. And albeit men wald cullor the saming and imperfectiones thair of be divers clokes, yit the sam can nocht be concilit from the spirituall eis of the fathfull, nather yit can the men of God, when they ar put to thair conscience, dissemble the sam.

"Nixt, I confes I was in an eroneus opinion, that I beleivit the government of the Kirk to be lyk the kingdomes of the erthe, plean contrar to the commandiment of our Maister Chryst, and the monarche wherwith the Kirk is governit, nocht to be onlie in the persone of our Saviour Chryst (as it is) bot in the Ministers, wha ar na thing but vassalles, and under him in an æqualitie amangs thaimselfes.

"Thridlie, That I maried the Erle of Huntlie contrar the Kirk's command, without the confession of his fathe, and profession of the sinceir doctrine of the Word ; I repent, and craves God pardone.

"That I travelit, bathe be reasoning and utherwayes, to subject the Kirkmen unto the King's ordinance in things that aperteines to Ecclesiastick maters, and thinges of conscience ; I ask God mercie, wharupon grait enormities hes fallen furthe in this countrey.

"That I beleived, and sa teatchit, the Presbyteries to be a foolishhe invention, and wald haiff it sa esteimed of all men, quhilk is an ordinance of Chryst ; I crave God mercie.

"Fordar, I submit my selff to the mercie of God and the judgment of the Assemblie, nocht missuring my offences be my awin

self, nor infirmities of my awin ingyne, bot to the guid judgment of the Kirk, to the quhilk alwayes I submit my self, and beseikes¹ yow to mak intercession to God for me, and to the King's Majestie, that I may haiff sume moyen² to live, and consume the rest of this my wretched tyme, for whase cause and favour I committed all thir errors ; and God has justlie recompensed me in his judgments.

“ And wharas I am burdenit to haiff bein the settar furthe of the buik called The King's Declaration, wherin the haill ordour of the Kirk is condemnit and traducit, I protest befor God that I was sa commandit to wrait be the Chancellar for the tyme, bot cheiffie be the Secretar, wha him self pennit the second Act of Parliament concerning the powar and authoritie of Judicatur to be absolutlie in the King's powar, and that it sould nocht be leisome³ to anie subject to reclame from the saming, under the penaltie of the Actes, quhilk I suppose was treasone.

“ Item, Whar it is alleagit that I sould haiff condemnit the doctrine announced and teatched be the Ministers of Edinbruche, to haiff avowit onlie concerning obedience to the Prince, my doctrine, I confes and protestes befor God, that I never understud nor knew anie thing bot sinceritie and uprightness in the doctrine of the Ministers of Edinbruche, in that point, nor na uther.

“ Fordar, I confes that I was author of the Act discharging the Ministers' Stipends that did nocht subscrivye the Actes of Parliament ; wherwith God hes justlie recompensed my self.”

The premisses and divers uther pointcs conteined in the Buik of the Assemblie war dyted be Mr Patrik Adamsone, and wrytin at his command be his servant, Mr Samuel Cunninghame, and subscrivrit with his awin hand, befor thir witnesses, directed to him from the Synodall, because of his inabilitytie of body till⁴ repear to the Assemblie, James Monipennie, fear of Pitmlilie, Andro Wod of Streawithe, David Murray, portionar of Ardet, Mr David Rus-

¹ Beseech, allowable.² Means.³ Lawful.⁴ To.

saill, bailye of St Androis, Mr Wilyeam Murray, Minister at Dy-sart, with uthers divers.

This man haid manie grait giftes, bot specialie excellit in the tounge and pen; and yit for abbusing of the sam against Chryst, all use of bathe the ane and uther was takin from him, when he was in graittest miserie, and haid maist need of tham. In the latter end of his lyff his neirest frinds was na confort to him, and his supposed graittest enemies, to whom indeid he offerit graittest occasion of enmitie, was his onlie frinds, and ceased nocht to recompence guid for evill, namlie, my uncle, Mr Andro, but fand small takings¹ of anie spiritual confort in him, quhilk specialie he wald haiff wisset² to haiff sein at his end.

Thus God delyverit his Kirk of a maist dangerus enemy, wha, if he haid bein endowit bot withe a comoun civill piece of honestie in his delling and conversation, he haid ma meanes to haiff wrought mischeiff in a kirk or countrey nor³ anie I haiff knawin or hard of in our yland.

Mr David Blak, a man mightie in doctrine, and of singular fidelitie and diligence int he ministerie, haid, be the cairfull procurment of my uncle at the Generall Assemblie, bein apointed Minister of St Androis, Mr Robert Wilkie taking him to a part thair of within the Collage of St Lenord's, as maist aggrieable with his naturall⁴ and giftes. He attendit maist charitablie upon the Bischope, furnesing him confort bathe for bodie and saull, to whom the Bischope promisit divers dayes to com to the pulpit, and suppleing his roum to mak publict confession; bot so often was Mr David disappointed, and maid to occupie his awin roum⁵ with the les preparation. He cravit of his wyff, and tham that wated on him, that in anie ceas he sould be advertised of the tyme when they saw him weakest, for Mr David wald haiff fellon fean sein⁶ sum comfortable mark of God's Spreit working with him; bot being warnit, came and fand him, as he levit, sensles of spiritual sanctification, sa to die; thair-

¹ Tokens. ² Wished. ³ Than. ⁴ Temper, disposition. Fr. *naturel*.

⁵ Place in the pulpit. ⁶ Would have very fain have seen.

for, comending him to the mercie and guid pleasour of God, with a heavie hart, departed.

That yeir also Boduell lost the King's favour, the quhilk being excessivelie indulgent towards him divers yeirs, turned at last in implacable hatred. He maid manie attempts for surprysing of the King's persone, quhilk was the cause of manie pitiful executiones, wharof a number I saw with my eis, as tragicall spectacles in the theater of this miserie of man's lyff. But things done be forme of justice haid with tham joyned sum comfortable consideration; but the murdour done of the Erle of Murray, at Dinnibirsall, be the Erle of Hountlie, on fear¹ day-light, the King luing on it with forthought, fellon hamsukin, and treason under tryst, maist crew-alie with fyre and sworde, yit mightelie cryes and importunes the ear of the righteys inquyrrar and revengar of bloode!

M.D.XCII.

The aw of Boduall's remeaning alwayes within the countrey, and often tymes hard about the Court, togidder with the horroure of the deid of Dinnibirsall, quhilk the unburied corpe, lyand in the Kirk of Leithe, maid to be nocht onlie unburied amangs the peiple, but be comoun rymes and sangs keipit in recent² detestation, als-mikle as the publict threatning of God's judgments thairupon from pulpites, obtained (at the Parliament hauldin at Edinbruche in the monethe of Junie 1592, for better expeding of the forfaultrie of Boduall) by³ our expectation, that quhilk haid cost us mikle pean in vean monie yeirs befor, to wit, The Ratification of the Libertie of the Trew Kirk, of Generall and Synodall Assemblies, of Presbyteries, [and] of Discipline; the tennor wharof, because it is the speciall evident of our discipline amangs civill men, and for that it cost me a piece of peanes, I could nocht bot heir inregistrat.

¹ Open, fair, broad.

² Fresh. Lat. *recens*.

³ Beyond, contrary to.

THE RATIFICATION OF THE LIBERTIE OF THE TREW KIRK ; OF
 GENERALL, SYNODALL ASSEMBLIES, PRESBYTERIES AND DISCI-
 PLINE ; AND LAWES IN THE CONTRAR, ABROGRAT [IN] PARL.
 JUNIE 1592.

“ OUR Sovereine Lord and Estaites of this present Parliament, following the lovable and gude exemple of thair predecessours, hes ratified and approved, and be the tenour of the present act ratifies and aproves, all liberties, privileges, immunities, and friedomes whatsumever, given and granted be his Hienes his Regents in his name, or anie of his predecessours, to the trew and halie Kirk, presentlie established within this realme, and declared in the first act of his Hienes parliament, the twentie day of October, in the yeir of God a thowsand fyve houndrethe threescore nyntein yeirs,¹ and all and whatsumever Actes of Parliament and statutes maid of before be his Hienes and his Regents, anent the libertie and fredom of the said Kirk : And, specialie, the first Act of Parliament haldin at Edinbruche the twentie-four day of October, the yeir of God a thowsand fyve hounder fourscore ane yeirs,² with the haille particular Actes there mentioned, quhilk salbe als sufficient as gif the sam war heire expressed ; and all uther Acts of Parliament maid sensyne in favour of the trew Kirk : And siolik ratifies and approves the Generall Assemblies apointed be the said Kirk, and declares that it salbe lawfull to the Kirk and Ministers, everie yeir at the least, and ofter, *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessitie sall requyre, to hald and keipe Generall Assemblies : Provyding that the King's Majestie, or his Commissionars with them, to be apointed be his Hienes, be present at ilk Generall Assemblie, befor the dissolving thairof, nominat and apoint tyme and place when and whare the nixt Generall Assemblie salbe haldin ; and in case nather his Majestie nor his said Commissionars beis present for the tyme in that town whare the said Generall Assemblie beis halden, then and in that case, it salbe leisum³ to the said Generall Assemblie, be tham-

¹ 1579.² 1581.³ Allowable, lawfull.

selves, to nominat and appoint tyme and place whare the nixt Generall Assembly of the Kirk salbe keipit and haldin, as they have bein in use to do thir tymes bypast. And als ratefies and appreives the Synodall or Provinciaill Assemblies to be haldin be the said Kirk and Ministers twyse ilk yeir, as they have bein and ar presentlie in use to do within everie Province of this realme.

“ And als ratefies and appreives the Presbyteries and particular Sessions apointed be the said Kirk, with the haill Jurisdiction and Discipline of the sam Kirk aggregit upon be his Majestie, in conference haid be his Hienes withe certean of the Ministers convened to that effect : Of the quhilk Articles the tenor followes :—*‘ Maters to be intreated in Provinciaill Assemblies :* Thir Assemblies are constitut for weghtie maters, necessar to be intreated be mutuall consent and assistance of breithring within the Province, as neid requyres : Thir Assemblies hes powar to handle, ordour, and redres all things omitted or done amiss in the particular Assemblies : It hes powar to depose the Office-bearers of that Province, for gude and just cause deserving deprivation : And, generalie, thir Assemblies hes the haill powar of the particular Elderschipes wharof they ar collected. *Maters to be intreated in the Presbyteries :* The powar of the Presbyteries is to give diligent laboures in the boundes committed to thair charge ; that the kirks be keipit in gude ordour ; till inquiryre diligentlie of nauchtie and ungodlie persones ; and to travell to bring tham in the way again be admonition or threatning of God’s judgments, or be correction : It aperteines to the Elderschipe to tak heide that the Word of God be purlie pretched within thair bounds ; the Sacraments rightlie ministered ; the Discipline interteined, and Ecclesiasticall gudes uncorruptlie distributed : It belanges to thir kynd of Assemblies to cause the ordinances maid be the Assemblies, Provinciailles, Nationalles, and Generales, to be keipit and put in execution ; to mak constitutiones quhilk concernes *εὐσεβειαν* in the Kirk for decent ordour in the particular kirk whar they govern, provyding that they alter na rewles maid be the Provinciaill or Generall Assemblies ; and that they mak the Provinciaill Assemblies foresaid privie of the rewles that they sall mak ; and to

abolishe constitutiones tending to the hurt of the sam : It hes powar till excommunicat the obstinat, formall proces being led, and dew intervall of tymes observed. Anent particular kirks, giff they be lauchfullie reuled be sufficient Ministerie and session, they have powar and jurisdiction in thair awin congregationes in maters Ecclesiasticall.'

" And decernes and declars the said Assemblies, Prebyteries, and Sessiones, Jurisdiction and Discipline thair of foresaid, to be in all tymes coming maist just, gude, and godlie in the selff, nochtwithstanding of whatsumever statutes, actes, canon, civill, or municipall lawes maid in the contrare : To the quhilks, and everie an of tham, thir presentes sall nocht express derogation. And because there ar divers Actes of Parliament maid in favour of the Papisticall Kirk, tending to the prejudice of the libertie of the trew Kirk of God presentlie professit within this realme, jurisdiction and discipline thair of, quhilk standes yit in the Buikes of the Actes of Parliament, nocht abrogated nor annulled, therfor his Hienes and Esteates forsaides hes abrogated, cassed, and annulled, and be the tenor heirof abrogates, casses, and annulles all Actes of Parliament maid be his Hienes' predecessours, or anie of tham, for meaintenance of superstition and ydolatrie, with all and whatsumever actes, lawes, and statutes, anie tyme befor the day and dait heirof, against the libertie of the trew Kirk, jurisdiction and discipline thair of, as the saming is used and exercesed within this realme.

" And in speciall, that part of the Act of Parliament halden at Stirling, the fourt of November, the yeir 1443, commanding obedience to be giffen to Eugenius, the Pape for the tyme ; the act maid be King James the Thrird, in his parliament, haldin at Edinbruche the 24 Februar 1480, and all uther actes, wharby the Pape's authoritie is established : The act of King James the Thrid, in his parliament haldin at Edinbruche, 20 November 1469, anent the Satterday and uther vigilles to be halie dayes from even-sang to even-sang.

" *Item*, that part of the act maid be the Quein Regent in the parliament haldin at Edinbruche, 1 Februar 1552, giving speciall licence for halding of Peace and Zuill.¹

¹ Pasch or Easter, and Yule or Christmas.

"Item, the King's Majestie and Esteates forsaidis declares, that the 129 Act of the Parliament haldin at Edinbruche, the 22 day of May, the yeir of God a thowsand fyve houndrethe fourscore four yeirs,¹ sall na wayes be prejudiciall, nor derogat anie thing to the privilage that God hes giffen to the spirituall Office-bearers in the Kirk, concerning Heads of Relligion, maters of heresie, excommunication, collation or deprivation of Ministers, or anie siclyk essentiall censors,² specialie groundit, and haiffand warrand of the Word of God.

"Item, our Soveran Lord and Estaites of Parliament forsaidis abrogattes, casses, and annulles the act of the sam parliament haldin at Edinbruche the said yeir 1584, granting Commissiones to Bischopes and uthers Judges constitut in Ecclesiasticall causes, to receave his Hienes' Presentationounes to Benefices, to give Collation thairupon, and to put ordour in all causes Ecclesiasticall; quhilk his Majestie and Estaits forsaidis declares to be expyred in the selff, and to be null in tyme coming, and of nan avail, force, nor effect; and, thairfor, ordeanes all Presentationes to benefices to be direct to the particular Presbyteries in all tyme comming, with full powar to give collationes thairupon; and to put ordour to all maters and causes Ecclesiasticall within thair bounds, according to the Discipline of the Kirk: Provyding the forsaid Presbyteries be bund and astricted to receave and admit whatsumever qualified Minister presented be his Majestie or laik Patrones."

This act is maist remarkable, for the passing thairof was flatlie denyed till it was extract, and being extract and fund to haiff bein published and giffen out with the rest, it was mikle rowed and detested in *anno* 1596. And, in deid, the Kirk is addettit to Mr Jhone Mettellan,³ Chancellor for the tyme, for the sam, wha inducit the King to pas it at that tyme, for what respect I leave it to God, wha workes for the confort of his Kirk be all kynd of instruments, to whom thairfor be all praise and thanks for ever!

Ther was that yeir, in the monethe of November, a Convention

¹ 1584.

² Church censures.

³ Maitland.

keipit at Edinbruche of a number of breithren, conveyin from divers partes of the countrey, to foresie and prevent the dangers imminent to the Relligioun and professours thair of. The quhilk I mention and sett down of purpose, to schaw the custom of our Kirk, lovable and profitablie observit heirtofore in tyme of neid and danger, quhilk, to the graitt perrell of the Kirk, is now restranit and dischargit.

[PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION]

“AT EDINBRUCHE, THE 15, 16, 17, 18, AND 20 DAYES OF NOVEMBER,
IN THE YEIR 1592.

“The quhilk dayes the Breithring, conveyin from divers partes of the countrey, to foresie and prevent the dangers imminent to the Relligion and professours thair of, efter incalling¹ of the name of God, haiffing communicated mutuallie thair intelligences, hes fund the enemies of the treuthe within this countrey verie diligentlie laboring for subversion of the Relligion, and sindrie crewall and dangerus plottes concludit and intendit to be execut with all possible diligence, unles the Lord, of his mercie, disapointed thair interpryse. For remead² wharof, it is concludit, that ther be a Generall Fast in all the Kirks of this countrey the 17 and 24 dayes of December nixt, that be trew humiliation and unfeinyed³ repentance, the feirfull judgments of God that hingethe ower this land may be prevented.

The Causes of the General Fast.

“1. The practises of the enemies without and within this countrey, intending till execut that blodie decree of the Counsall of Trent against all that trewlie profes the Relligioun of Chryst, to the utter subversion thair of, and of the King's estate and persone, whase

¹ Invoking.

² Remedy.

³ Unfeigned.

standing and decey they acknowlage to be joyned with the standing and decey of Relligion.

"2. A miserable desolation of the graittest part of the countrey, perishing in ignorance, throw leak of Pastors and sufficient moyen¹ to intertean the Word of God amangs tham, with a cearlesnes of the Magistrats to remead thir miseries.

"3. A feirfull defection of a grait number of all esteats in this land to Papistrie and Atheisme, specialie of the Nobilitie, throw the resorting and trafecting of Jesuites, Seminarie Priests, and uther Papists, without execution of anie law against thame.

"4. The generall disordour of the haill estate of the Comounwelthe, overflowing with all kynd of impietie, as contempt of the Word, blasphemie of the name of God, contempt of the Magistrat, tresson, innocent blood schede, adulteries, witchcrafts, and sic uther abominable crymes.

"Thir causes to be inlargit and eiked² be the discretion of everie brother, according as he sall haiff sure knowlage and sense of the premisses.

"*Item*, it is ordeanit that everie Presbyterie travell within thair awin bounds till inform the specialles and best affected gentilmen amang tham of the practise of the enemies, and to move tham to be upon thair gard, and in readines upon advertisment for defence of Relligion and professours thairof, and resisting of the enemy; and to tak up and compose all feiddes,³ namlie amang tham that ar trew professours, or at the least assurances, whar full aggriment can nocht be presentlie procured, and to resave thair subscriptiones unto The Generall Band, at least whar it salbe thought requisit, at the discretion of everilk⁴ Presbyterie. And because the Presbyteries underwrytten, for divers considerationes, craves the assistance of sum uther breithring, the breithring heir conveyned hes apointed Mr Robert Pont to concure with the Presbyterie of Aberdein for the effect above wreittin; Mr Robert Rollok with the Presbyterie of Dalkethe, and Mr Robert Bruce and David Lindsay with the

¹ Means.² Added to.³ Deadly feuds.⁴ Each, every.

Presbyteries of the Wast, for uptaking of the deadlie feiddes betwix the Maister of Eglintoun and the Erle of Glencarn, the Lardes of Garlies and Blakwhean, &c. And to this effect, that they obtain his Majestie's Commission, and procure his Majestie's Commissioners may be direct with thame; and they till attend on this as thair lesar will serve. And, in the mean tyme, that his Majestie's Letters be obtained to move the parties till assure, and the Presbyteries to travell sa far as they may, be thair awin labours.

“*Item*, that the breither acquent tham selves withe the histories of the crewaltie of the confederates of the Councell of Trent, practised against the fathfull in uther countreyes, and inform thair congregations thair of, as lykwayes of the lyk crewelties against tham selves, gif they preveall in thair wicked attempts. And, in respect of the subtiltie and secreit craft of the adversars, wha now sa deipliche has lerned to dissemble thair proceedings, that speciall sutt be maid to God in our publict prayers, that the plats and hid practises of the enemies may be discovered, brought to light, and disapointed.

“*Item*, it is ordeanit that ther be an Ordinarie Councell of the breithring underwrytten, viz. Maisters Robert Bruce, David Lindsay, Robert Pont, Jhone Davidsons, Walter Balcanquall, James Balfour, Patrik Galloway, Jhone Dunkesone, wha sall conveye ordinarlie everie ouk ans, and offer, as occasion sall crave, to consult upon sic advertisment as salbe maid to them from divers partes of the countrey or utherwayes, and *providere in omnibus, ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti capiat*. And for the better execution of thair conclusionnes, it is ordeanit that ther be ane ordinarie Agent to attend in Edinbruche upon tham, viz., Mr James Carmichael, till the nixt Assemblie Generall, whase office sall consist in the poincts following:—

“*Imprimis*, He sall travell diligentlie, be all meanes, to be informed of the practises of Papists, as be merchants and passingers coming from uther countreyes, and all sic as from anie part of this countrey resorts to Edinbruche. For the quhilk cause also, the Ministers in everie part ar commandit to mak cearefull advertisment of all kynd of practises against the Relligioun of all Papists, Jesuistes, and re-

seatters of tham within thair bounds, and all uther weightie enormities that sall fall out and com to thair knowlage, and that in forme as efter followes :—

“Mr Andro Cramby and Mr George Monro for Ross; Mr Thomas Howisone for Invernes, and Jhone Forstar for Forrese, sall send thair advertisements to Mr Alexander Dowglas, Minister of Elgean.

“Mr Alexander Dowglas for Elgean sall send to Mr Piter Blackburn, Minister of Aberdein. Mr George Hay for Banff, Mr James Duff and Mr Gilbert Gardin for Strathbogy, Mr Jhone Strath auchsone for Mar, Mr George Patersone for Garioch, and Mr Duncann Davidsonsone for Dear, sall send to Mr David Cunningham, Minister at Aberdein. Mr Piter Blackburn and Mr David Cunninghame sall send thair advertisements to Montrose. Mr Andro Miln for Mernes, Jhone Dury for Breachin, Mr Arthour Fithie for Arbrothe, Mr James Nicolsone for Meigle, sall send to Wilyeam Chrystisone, Minister of Dondie. Wilyeam Chrystisone sall send to Mr Adam Mitchell, Minister at Cowpar, and Mr Adam to Mr Thomas Biggar, Minister at Kingorn, and Mr Thomas to Mr Walter [Balcanquall], Minister at Edinbruche.

“Mr Wilyeam Glas for Dunkeld sall send to Mr Jhone Malcolme at Perth; Mr Jhone Malcolme to Mr Walter [Balcanquall] at Edinbruche. Mr Wilyeam Stirling for Dumblean, Mr Patrik Simsone for Stirling, Mr Jhone Spotswoode for Linlithgow, Mr Adam Jhonstoun for Dalkethe, James Gipsone for Hadintoun, Mr Robert Habroun for Dumbar, Mr Archbald Dowglas for Peapbles, Jhone Clapperton for Hutton, Mr Wilyeam Meffan for Dunse, Mr Jhone Knox for Melrose, Mr Andro Clayhill for Jedbrouche, Mr Hew Foullarton for Drumfreise, Mr David Blythe for Kirkcowbrie, Mr James Davidsonsone for Wigtoun, Mr Andro Hay for Glasgw, Mr Robert Darrouche for Hamilton, Mr Robert Lindsay for Lanerik, David Fergusone for Dumfermling: All thir sall send thair advertisements directlie to Mr Walter Balcanquall in Edinbruche.

“Jhone Porterfield for Aire, Mr Robert Wilkie for Irewing, Mr Jhone Rose for Dumbartan, Mr Andro Knox for Pasley, sall send

to Mr Andro Hay in Glasgw, and he to Mr Walter [Balcanquall] in Edinbruche.

“ Mr Andro Melvill for St Androis, Mr Thomas Bowehanan for Cowpar, sall send to Mr Thomas Biggar, Minister at Kingorn, and he to the said Mr Walter; and last, Mr David Spense for Kirkady to the sam Mr Walter. Provyding that if anie of the above wrettin breithring haiff the commoditie of a trustie bearer utherwayes, or if the mater be of sic weght that it will nocht suffer delay, in that case they sall send to Edinbruche to the said Mr Walter immediatlie. And, to the end that the forsaid breithring may haiff the mair sure intelligence, it is ordeanit that everie brother within the Presbyterie sall giff tham sure information at all occasionnes neidfull.

“ Secondlie, Efter the said Agent sall receive thir intelligences and advertisements, he sall at the first meitting communicat tham to the Conceill of the Breithring; and if the mater requyre hast, the Agent sall conveyin the Councell for that effect; and being found be tham to requyre fordar advyse of uther breithring, the said Agent sall convocat them be his lettres, according as he sall receive direction fra the Councell.

“ Thridlie, Whatsoever sall happin to be concludit be the Councell of the Breithring to be suted at his Majestie, Counsell, Session, Provost and Balyies of Burrowes, Convention of Esteates, Burrowes or Barrones, or uthers whatsumever, the said Agent sall attend fathfullie and diligentlie for executing thairof, and report his diligence to the Councell.

“ The said Agent sall seik out and extract all Letteres, Acts, and Decreits anent the causes committed to him, and use and direct tham as they aught to be, and to communicat tham, togidder with the conclusiones of the Councell, to sic Presbyteries and partes of the countrey as the Councell sall direct, according to the forme, and be the persones above wrytten, *ordine retrogrado*.

“ The said Agent sall wryt the Memoirs of the Kirk's proceedings and dealling with the Prince, Councill, and Esteattes of this realme, fra tyme to tyme sen the Reformation of Relligion, to be a monu-

ment to the posteritie. And for that effect, it is ordeanit, that from all Presbyteries, scrolles, wryttes, and anie pices that ar in the haldin of anie breither, salbe directed to Mr Walter Balcanquall, to be delverit to him. And lykwyse all proceidings and deallings, quhilk the Kirk sall haiff with the King, to be noted be him heirefter, &c.

“Item, It is ordeanit, that thair be a comoun purse for furnesing of necessarie expences for the effaires forsaid, without the quhilk they can nocht tak effect. And that for the present, Mr Robert Bruce, with sic as he thinks guid to adjoyne to him, sall mein the want of thir comoun expences in sa dangerus a tyme to sic men of all esteates as he knawes to be weill affected, that be thair liberalitie this want may be supplied, untill sum guid ordinarie mean be fund out for that effect. And that the soumes collected be put in a box, wharof thair salbe twa or thrie keyes in the hands of twa or thrie Breithring of the Councell, wha sall deburse thair of as the said Counsall sall command thame.

“Item, It is ordeanit, that the said Counsall sall travell earnestlie with his Majestie and Counsall, that the Articles following may be granted :—

“That his Majestie, be publict proclamation, mak his guid affection toward the Relligion and professours thair of knawin to his hail subjects, and promise to meantein and defend it against all enemies without and within, to the uttermaist of his powar ; and that he accompt all the enemies thair of to be enemies of his estat and persone, and of this Comounwealthe ; charging heirfor his hail subjects to joyne tham selves in a unitie and profession of the trew Religion professed within this countrey, and subscriye The Generall Band for the meaintenance thair of against whatsoever enemies, quhilk salbe presented to tham be the Ministrie.

“That a Commission be granted till a certean of the best affected Noble men, Barrones, and Gentilmen and Magistrats within Borrowes, that is to say, to the Provost and Bailies of everie broughe within thair towns and liberties thair of ; Robert, Erle of Orkney, James, Lord Zetland, Michall Balfour of Montwhanie, for Orkney, &c., to execut all acts of Parliament and Counsall against what-

sumever Jesuites, Seminarie Preists, excommunicat and trafecting Papists and thair reseatters, and to cause mak wapinschawings,¹ and convey the countrey in armes, at all occasions neidfull for defence of the trew Relligion, and resisting of the enemies thair of.

"That a sufficient number of the wysest of the Noble men, Barones, and best affected to Relligion, his Majestie's estate and standing, and the weill of this Commoun-welthe, be apointed upon the Secret Counsell, and mak thair residence in Edinbruche this wintar, and fordar, ay whill² the conspiracies, plattes, and attempts of the enemies of Religion within this countrey be disapointed and repressed.

"That all Papists and practeisars against the Relligion be removed from his Majestie's companie, and debarrid from all publick charge, commission, lieutenandrie, or publick office.

"That all skippars and maisters of shippes sall present to the Magistrat and Counsell of the place whar they sall aryve, all passingers, merchants, and uthers that sall com with tham in thair shippes, wha sall giff thair conscience and aithe³ of all persones and packets of letters or buiks whatsumever, quhilks they haiff receavit at anie port sen thair departour, to be delyverit to anie persone or persones, within this countrey or without. And giff they haiff sett on land, at anie part, anie persone or persones, or delyverit packets or buiks, coffars or kists,⁴ to anie whatsoever, under pean of confiscation of shippes, guidis, and gear.

"That a Commission be giffen to the persones underwryttin, viz.
,⁵ to sett down a constant form of provision of Ministers' Stipends at everie Congregation within this countrey; and that to be ratefied in Secret Counsell, Sessioun, and Chacker,⁶ to haiff the strainthe of a law quhill⁷ Parliament, and then to be ratefied be the hail Esteatts.

"Last, It is ordeanit that ther be a Generall Assemblie at Edinbruche, the nynt of Januar nixtocom, in cais the Parliament hald; and giff the Parliament be continowed, that the Presbyterie of Edin-

¹ Musters for military exercises, &c.

² Until.

³ Oath.

⁴ Coffers or chests.

⁵ A blank is left in the MS. for inserting names.

⁶ Exchequer.

⁷ Until.

bruche giff advertisment thair of to the breither of all Presbyteries, that they mak na wast travell."

And thir things, devysit be my uncle, Mr Andro, with the rest of the breithring, Mr James Nicolsons and I war ordeanit to pen and sett in ordour.

Betwix this Convention and the Generall Assembly following apointed, the Lord, ever watchfull over his Kirk, detected a strange Conspiracie of certean of our Nobles¹ in maner following. A certean young gentilman, Mr George Car be nam, was attending on a schipe at the Wast-sie, whar his privie conversation being espyed and his speitches taken heid to, it was perceavit him to be a Papist passing to Spean; and first greatly suspected, and thaireftar certeanlie knawin be sum of his familiars that he was a trafector directed with commission, in word and wryt, to the King of Spean be sum Scotis Noble men. Of this Mr Andro Knox, Minister at Pasley, being certeanlie informed, accompanied with sum of his frinds, went a borde on the sheppe, sche being readie to mak seale, and apprehends the said Mr George,² and cersing his coffers, finds divers Letters and Blankes, directed from George, Erle of Hountlie, Frances, Erle of Arrol, and Wilyeam, Erle of Angus, subscrivit with thair hands, wryttin, sum in Latin and sum in Frenche, togidder with thair cachets,³ signets, &c. He being thus appre-

¹ The singular story of "The Spanish Blanks," the particulars of which will be found at length in *Pitcairn's Ancient Criminal Trials*, vol. i. 310, *et seq.* ² Vide "The Discoverie, &c. and examination of Mr George Car and David Grame of Fentrie, publist in print at the executioun of the said David." Margin of MS.—The title of this scarce tract is as follows: "A Discoverie of the Vnnaturall and Traiterous Conspiracie of Scottisch Papistes against God, his Kirk, their native cuntry, the Kingis Maiestie's persone and estate. Set downe as it was confessed and subscribed bee M. George Ker, yit remaining in prison, and David Grahame of Fentrie, iustly executed for his Treson in Edinburgh, the 15 of Februarie 1592. Whervnto are annexit certain Intercepted Letters, written by sundrie of that faction, to the same purpose. Printed and published at the speciall command of the Kingis Majestie. At Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, Printer to the Kingis Majestie. *Cum privilegio Regali.*" ³ Fr. *cachet*, a stamp for marking a signatur.

hendit, is brought with diligence to the King, and put in presone. Upon the quhilk also the said Erle of Angus is put in the Castell of Edinbruche, and a most frequent¹ Generall Assemblie convenit at Edinbruche, of a grait number of Barrones from all the partes of the realme, besought the King to tak ordour with these unnaturall subjects, betrayers of thair countrey to the crewall Spayneard. With the quhilk the King tuk nocht weill at the first, quarreling the Barones for thair conveyeing in sic number at the Ministers' warning, without his calling for and licence. To the quhilk they answerit freilie, that it was na tyme to attend on warnings when thair Relligion, Prince, countrey, thair lyves, lands, and all was brought to jeopard be sic treasonable delling. Thairfor, the King satteling, aggregait² thair cryme verie hilie, and said it was of the nature of the things that was abon him, and withe the quhilk he could nocht dispense; and thairfor promisit to tak tryell thairin with diligence, and put ordour thairto with all severitie, to thair contentment. Nevertheles, the Erle of Angus eschaped out of the Castle of Edinbruche. The rest war oversein,³ quhilk wrought a grait suspition and discontentment in the harts of all the guid subjects of the land towards the King. [Then did I first put in print sum of my Poesie; to wit, the Description of the Spainyarts' Naturall, out of Julius Scaliger, with sum Exhortationes for warning of Kirk and countrey.⁴]

In that simmer the devill steired upe a maist dangerus uproar and tumult of the peiple of St Androis against my uncle, Mr Andro, to the extream perrell of his lyff, if God haid nocht bein his protection and delyverance. The wicked, malitius misrewlars of that town, of whom I mentioned befor, in the trouble of the honest men thairof, hated Mr Andro, because he could nocht bear with thair ungodlie and unjust delling, and at thair drinking, incensit the rascals be fals information against Mr Andro and his Collage, making tham to think that he and his Collage sought the wrak and

¹ Crowded, numerously attended.
looked, their crimes winked at.

² Aggravated. Fr. *aggreger*.
⁴ Margin of MS.

³ Over-

trouble of the town; sa that the barme¹ of thair drink began to rift² out crewall thretnings against the Collage and Mr Andro. They being thus prepeared, the devill devyses tham an appeirance of just occasion to fall to wark. Ther war a certean of Students in Theologie, wha weireing to go out of the Collage to thair exerceise of bodie and gham,³ causit big a pear of buttes⁴ in the Collage garding, joyning to a wynd and passage of the town. Wharat a certean of tham shooting a efter noone, amangs the rest was Mr Jhone Caldeleuche, then an of the Maisters of Theologie, bot skarse yit a schollar in archerie, wha missing the butt and a number of thak⁵ housses beyonde, schouttes his arrow down the hie passage of the wynd, quhilk lightes upon a auld honest man, a matman⁶ of the town, and hurts him in the crag.⁷ This coming to the eares of the forsaid malitius and seditius, they concitat the multitud and popular crafts and rascall,⁸ be thair words and sound of the comoun bell; wha setting upon the Collage, braks upe the yett⁹ thair- of, and with grait violence unbesets¹⁰ the Principall's chalmer, ding- ing at the forstare¹¹ thair of with grait gestes,¹² crying for fyre, &c. Bot the Lord assisting his servant with wesdome and courage, maid him to keipe his chalmer stoutlie, and dell with sum of tham fearlie,¹³ whom he knew to be abbusit, and with uthers scharplie, whom he knew to be malitius abbusars of the peiple. Be the tra- velles of Mr David Blak, new entred to his Ministerie, and Mr Robert Wilkie, Primarius of St Leonard, with uther Maisters and schollars of the Universitie, efter lang vexation and mikle adoe, the peiple's insurrection was sattelit.

The King, be the Cancellar's counsall and moyen, was graitlie offendit with this, and calling the Magistrats and certean of the ring-laders, ordeanit tham to be tryed, in particular,¹⁴ be the Ba- rones and gentilmen of the countrey about St Androis; bot be that occasion getting graitter bands,¹⁵ and mair streat, abone the

¹ Yeast.² Belch.³ Game,⁴ Erect a pair of butts for archery.⁵ Thatch.⁶ Maltster.⁷ Neck, throat.⁸ "The rascal multitude."⁹ Gate.¹⁰ Surround and attack.¹¹ The fox stair.¹² Great joists or beams.¹³ Fairly, gently.¹⁴ Individually.¹⁵ Bonds, security.

heids of the town, for staying of the lyk in tyme coming. Seing God haid keipit bathe the honest man that was schot, and the Collage from grait hurt, Mr Andro overpassit and forgaiff byganees,¹ upon a humble submission and band of preventing and absteining from sic fasones in tyme to come.

M.D.XCIII.

[This yeir, 1593, in the monethe of August, the 28 day, being Tysday, efter fyve yeirs censing, my wyff brought furthe a douchter, quhilk I named Margrat. Sche never leuche² in this lyff, bot within sax or sevin moneths died; the onlie corpse that past out of my hous these dissone of yeirs. Of the quhilk visitation I thank God I gat a saftned hart and graite confort, quhilk I can nocht omit unrememberit to His praise. For the quhilk I wrot this EPITAPHE :

Sen all mon³ enter into presson strang
Of erdlie fleche, and ther remean a space,
They ar, but dout, maist happie all amang,
Wha schortest tym remeanes in sic a place.

Lo ! this hes bein my luk and happie cease,
Above sax monethes nocht to ly opprest
Withe erdlie bands, when God, of his guid grace,
Has tean me ham to his æternall rest.

Sen Chryst hes then receav'd me in his glore,
Deir mother, cease, lament for me no more !⁴]

In the monethe of September 1593, the Provinciall Assemblie convenit at St Androis, wharin the Lord's watchmen of the schyr of Fyff, being informit of the bissines and dangerus delling of the Papist Erles and Lords, throw impunitie and oversight of the Prince, began to wey the mater gravelie; and efter guid and

¹ Bygone, all that was past.² Laughed.³ Must.⁴ Margin of MS.

throuche advysment, condescendit all in on voice to pronounce the sentence of excommunication upon certean of the cheiff of **tham**. The quhilk was done be my mouthe, Moderator for the tyme, and the quhilk God sa blessed that the haill Kirk of Scotland approvit the sam, and the quhilk the Lord maid to be a speciall mean of preventing extreame danger of wrak of the Kirk and Comoun-weill of Scotland, and bringing of the enemies to forfaultrie and exyll. The names of the excommunicat was Wilyeam, Erle of Angus; George, Erle of Hountlie; Francis, Erle of **Arroll**; Jhone, Lord Home; Sir Patrik Gordoun of Achindown, and Sir James Chisholme, Knights. This our Synod communicat with diligence to all the Provinces of the land, and cravit a meiting of Commissioners from thame to be keipit at Edinbruche in October following, for prosecuting of the mater.

That Convention at Edinbruche was frequetlie keipit bathe be Ministers and Barones, wherin it was thought guid that Commissioners thairfra, bathe of the Ministrie, and gentilmen, and burgesses, sould be direct to the King, craving ordour taking with these excommunicat Papist Lords; namlie, it was verie greivus to the breithring to heir that the saids excommunicat Lords haid repearit to his Majestie and spokin him at Faley,¹ even immediatlie befor the meiting of the Kirk. This was gevin in Commission to be re-gratit. The King at this tyme was in Jedbruche, and the mater suffered nocht delay, for these Papist Lords was making grait preparation of armes, and amassing thair frinds to repear to the King and cease² about his persone. Therfor it behoved me (all uther refusing except Mr Patrik Galloway, the King's ordinar Minister, wha was to go thither) to tak journey to Jedwart,³ accompanied with twa Barrones, the Lards of Merchistoun and Caderwoode, and twa Burgesses of Edinbruche; whar, finding the King, war bot bauchlie⁴ lukit upon. Our Assemblie of Fyff was bitterlie inveiyt against, namlie my uncle Mr Andro and Mr David Blak. I answerit for all, as it pleasit God to giff, and efter the King's coler

¹ Fala.² Seize.³ Jedburgh.⁴ Sorrily, indifferently.

appeasit, we dischargit our Commission in maist humble and fectfull maner. The King againe was crabit¹ at the Convention of Edinbruche, namlie at the Barrones and Burgesses, wha stude honestlie be it, saying it was in trew and upright hartes, with all dewtie and reverence to his Majestie for preventing of imminent evill and danger to his Stat, Relligion, and Countrey. Sa that night delyvering our petitiones in wryt, betymes on the morn, we gat our answers in wrait fear aneuche, and returned on the thride day to the breithring. Ane of the speciall answers was, That the King sould hauld a Convention, at Lithgow, soone efter his retourn from the Southe, whar he sould tak ordour with all these maters.

Bot the Breithring, certeanlie informit that the Papist Erls was conveyeing all thair frinds, of purpose to be present at the said Convention, and place tham selves about the King, thought meit that all sould with diligence retourn ham to thair countreyes, and mak warning thair of to thair Barrones and brouches,² schawing the King's guid answers and the enemies' purpose; desyring thairfor all to be in readines to keipe³ the said Convention, for disapointing the adversar; and for that effect to repear till Edinbruche a few dayes befor, ther till advys⁴ anent thair proceedings. The quhilk was done be everie Commissionar with exact diligence.

Ther was a Convention of the Barrones of Fyff keipe at the sam tyme at Cowpar, to the quhilk my uncle, Mr Andro, and I hasting, maid tham to direct speciall Barrones of thair number with certean of the ministerie, to the town of Perth to incurage tham, and to promise tham assistance for keiping of thair town against the excommunicat Erls and thair forces. The quhilk they did, till, be the King's charge, they war constreanit to receive tham. The best and maist zealus Barrones, gentilmen and burgesses, war on fut in readines to keipe the dyet at Edinbruche, namlie heiring of the Erls of Hountlie and Errol's forces come to St Johnstoun, till the King send expres discharge of the said Erles' forces, and comandit tham withe a few of thair frinds to abyde quyetlie in

¹ Cross, angry.² Burghs.³ Hold.⁴ To advise.

Perthe, attending his will anent thair effeares. Quhilk being understud, leaving ther armes, commissionars coming from everie parochie and presbyterie, keipit the dyet at Edinbruche, at quhilk they resolvit to direct from that Convention a Comission of Barones, Burgesses, and Ministers, to the King and Convention of Esteattes at Linlithgow, withe petitiones, as of befor. Sa the number send to Jedwart being dowblit, cam to Lithgow, amangs the quhilk (because, as they said, best acquent with the hail proceedour of the mater) I was chosin to be speitchman¹ and presentar of the petitions. Bot the Chancellar, Mattellan,² haid dressit all to our cōming, sa that thair was nocht mikle ado at that dyet, bot all remitted to a new Convention of Esteats, to be haldin at Edinbruche the monethe following. The Erles Papists turning bak, and all our folks going ham, with thankfull harts to God for disappointing of a maist dangerus interpryse, as ever was of an be Papists in this land.

* The Convention at Edinbruche followit efter, in the monethe of December, whar I, withe uthers apointed, presented of new our former petitions; the quhilk the King perceaving, contentedlie promised to satisfie at efter noone. At quhilk tyme we attending, ther was offers of satisfaction to the Kirk and the King's Majestie, giffin in be the Erles' agents; wherupon the nixt day, the King, with large discourse, schawes to the Esteattes whow dangerus the mater was; for giff³ the offers of these Noble men war refusit, they wald disperatlie go to armes, and get forean assistance, quhilk might wrak King, Countrey, and Relligion. And sa, be that and sic lyk arguments, inducit the Esteattes (wha, seing the King's inclination, uses nocht to gainstand, for manie of tham that ar called ar prepeared befor hand for the purpose) to condescend to an up-taking of the mater. And sa divers dayes was devysit that Act of Abolitioun; of the quhilk I will nocht speak, nocht being my purpose to wryt a storie,⁴ ather Civill or Ecclesiastick, bot onlie to

¹ Spokesman.² Maitland.³ If.⁴ History.

minut, in Memoirs, the things quhilk God maid me to heir and sie; bot trewlie quhilk my hart pitied fallon sear.¹ The King, by this dealing, brought him selff in graitt suspition and mislyking of his best subjects, bathe for favouring of Papists, and of him wha haid sa notoriouslie committed that filthie murdour of the Erle of Murray at Donibirsall.

My uncle, Mr Andro, using alwayes to speak planlie, with zeall and birning affectiones to the honour of God and the King's weill, gaiff him at this time a maist scharpe and frie admonition concerning his evill thinking and speaking of the best frinds of Chryst and him selff, the Guid Regent, Mr Knox, and Mr George Bowchanan; and his thinking weill and favouring of Chryst and his graitest enemies the Papists, and, namlie, that Hous of Hountlie; desyring, confidentlie, that sic as war his counsallours thairin sould kythe² in presence of the Esteatts, and giff he convicted tham nocht of fals, treasonable, and maist pernitius doing thairin against Chryst, the King's persone, his estate and realme, he sould nocht refuse to go to the gibbet for it, provyding they being convict sould ga the sam gett!³ Withe the quhilk the King and his Counsallors comported, and past ower the mater with smylling, saying the man was mair zealus and coleric nor wyse.

[On the Michelmes that yeir, the crafts and burgesses of St Androis changing thair Provest, for the Lard of Darsie, chosit Capitan Wilyeam Murray, quhilk maid Darsie's frinds to rage sa, that Burley cam under sylence of night, and tuk an honest man out of his hous and caried him away; at the quhilk brave exployt Burley was mutilat of a fingar to begin his warrs withall. His man, Mylles, another night, with certean companiones, his complices, cam to an uther honest man's hous and reft away his douchtar: And last, the said Lard of Darsie maid a grait convocation of his frinds, with the quhilk in armes he purposed to enter in the town, and abbuse certean citiciners thairof at his pleasour, and that indeid of the best sort. The quhilk, when it was meined⁴ to my uncle, Mr Andro,

¹ Very sorely. ² Appear, show themselves. ³ The same way. ⁴ Complained of.

being then Rector of the Universitie, and sa a civill Magistrat, convocat the haill Universitie, and schew tham whow thair nibours of the town war oppressed, and what God's law, and mane's bathe, craved in sic a ceas: And sa resolvit to tak armes for helpe and defence of the town, and confortablie assisted with my Lord Lindsay, Sir George Dowglas, and divers gentilmen of the countrey, maid the invadder fean, for all his forces, to byd out, and tak reasone in part of payment. He merchet mikle of that day¹ with a whait² speare in his hand, as he ware³ a corslet thairefter at the dinging down of Streabogy.

The wintar following, God provydit, in the place of Mr Jhone Robertsonsone, an of the Maisters of the New Collage, a godlie, honest, and lerned man, Mr Jhone Jhonston, wha, efter divers yeirs' peregrinatioun for the studie of guid letters in Germany, Genev, France, and Eingland, cam ham and contented to tak part with my uncle, Mr Andro, in the said Collage; and wha sen syne hes bein a grait helpe and comfort to my said uncle, and ornament to the Collage and Universitie. Mr Jhone Caldcleuche withstud his electioun, and troublit the Collage and Universitie verie mikle, and last raisit soummonds and callit us befor the King and Counsall; bot he was send ham the graitter fooll, whar, for his violation of the actes, and troubling of the Universitie, he was deposit from all office-bearing within the sam. God warnit me of that trouble be a dream of fyre and water, quhilk moved me mikle, and wharof I fand a notable effect be an extream danger of drowning going over the Ferrie of Kingorn, at Granton Cragges,⁴ to keipe a dyet in that mater. And a wonderfull delyverance alas for thankfulnes! THE XX. DAY OF MERTCHE, AT GRANTON CRAGES.⁵]

M.D.XCIV.

About the spring tyme in the yeir following, 1594, the outlaw, Bodwall,⁶ kythe openlie⁷ with forces at Leithe and at Preistfeild,

¹ He marched the greatest part of that day. ² White. ³ Wore. ⁴ Near to where the Duke of Buccleuch's Pier and Docks at Granton are now being erected.
⁵ Margin of MS. ⁶ The Earl of Bothwell. ⁷ Appeared, showed himself openly.

bot withe lyk succes as often tymes befor. He tuk upe men of war, in secret, upe and down the countrey, and gaiff out that it was at the Kirk's employment against the Papists, quhilk maid me, being then mikle occupied in publict about the Kirk's effeares, to be graittlie suspected be the King, and bak-speirit¹ be all meanes; bot it was hard to find [that] quhilk was never thought. For I never lyket the man, nor haid to do with him directlie or indirectlie; yea, efter Guid Archbald, Erle of Angus, whom God called to his rest a yeir or twa befor this, I kend him nocht of the nobilitie in Scotland that I could communicat my mynd with anent publict effeares, let be to haiff a delling with in action.

The Generall Assemblie conveyned at Edinbruche in the monethe of May; my uncle, Mr Andro, chosin Moderator. Thair compeir-ed the Lord Home, making humble supplication to be relaxed from excommunication. It was granted upon certean conditiones verie streit;² the quhilk, in cais he sould thairefter contravein or nocht fulfill, he sould be of new denuncit accursit. Bot the said Moderator nocht finding sic takens of trew repentance as he wald have cravit, and thought neidfull to be sein be the Kirk, namlie, sic grait number and force of enemies being in the countrey, efter he haid schawin his reasones to the Assemblie, wald nocht pronounce the sentence of absolution; bot Mr David Lindsay, being last Moderator, did it.

Thairefter a Commission, with the sentence pronuncit be the Synod of Fyff against the rest, was approven and ratefied be the haill Assemblie, acknawlagin thairin the speciall benefeit of God's providence in steiring upe the spreits of his servants to be wacryff,³ cearfull, and curagius in the wark of his glorie and cause of his Kirk. And during the tyme of Assemblie was directed, with Commissioners, certean Articles and Petitiones to the King. Amangs the quhilk commissioners I being named, sum said it was nocht convenient, being suspected and evill-lyked of be the King. To the quhilk opinion the Assemblie beginning to inclyne, I stud upe and said, "I haid bein employed in commission oft tymes against my

¹ Cross-questioned.² Strict, stringent.³ Wakeful, watchful.

will, and when things was mair peanfull and dangerus, even when uthers refusit; bot now, even for the reasone quhilk was alleagit, I wald requeist for it as a benefit of the breithring to send me, quhilk wald be the onlie way to cleir bathe them and mie of suspition and sklander, for even utherwayes I meined to present my selff at Court befor the King, to sie gif anie man haid ought to say to me." Of this the breithring war glaid, and resolved, in a voice,¹ to send me. Sa, coming to Sterling, whar the King was, far by² our expectation we war maist gratuslie accepted.

All our Articles war reasonit and answerit be his Majestie's awin hand-wryt upon the mergent, and that verie favourable, to our grait contentment; and thairefter, I, that was the grait tratour, with the rest callit in to the Cabbinet with the King alleane!³ His Majestie beginnes to regrat that he could nocht find that freindlines in the Kirk quhilk he cravit and wissed.⁴ I, haiffing the speitch, answered, Ther was a peccant humor in the body quhilk behoved to be purged, or it could nocht be out of danger of disease, yea, deathe. The King asked me what that was? I said it was suspition on ather syde; for purging wharof it war best we sould be frie on ather syde, and schaw our greiffs and ocasionies of suspecting the warst, the quhilk being removit, the body wald be curit and haill. The King thought it maist meit and pertinent, and begins and expones what he haid [to say?]

First, concerning the assembling of his subjects without his licence:—To the quhilk we answerit, we did it be the warrant of his Majestie's lawes, and of Chryst, according to the Word, and custom of our Kirk sen the beginning; quhilk nather haid, nor be God's grace ever sould be to his Majestie's hurt, bot honour and weill.

Second, concerning the excommunicating of his special servant and noble-man, the Lord Home:—We answerit, That he was a profest dangerus Papist, in course with the rest, and whowsone he repented and retereit from them, as we war in guid hope he sould do, and approve him selff to the present Assemblie, he sould be relaxed, and his Majestie satisfieit thairanent.

¹ Unanimously.² Beyond, exceeding.³ Alone.⁴ Wished.

The Third and last was concerning Mr Andro Hountar, Minister, wha haid kythed¹ in open fields with Bodwell :—We answerit, that incontinent thairefter the Presbyterie of St Androis haid proceedit against him, and haid deposit him of his office of Ministerie.

Then his Majestie ceassing, I asked, if his Majestie haid anie thing to say to me? He answerit, Na thing mair nor to all the rest, saiff that he saw me ane in all commissiounes! I answerit, I thanked God thairfor, for thairin I was serving God, his Kirk, and the King publictlie, and as for anie privat unlawfull or undewtfull practise, I wald wis traducars (if anie was of me to his Majestie) sould be maid to schaw thair face befor ther King, as I presentlie haid procured of the Kirk to do, of sett purpose. And thairefter exponing all our greiffs and petitiones, receavit, as said is, verie guid answers, namlie a promise of a Parliament with all convenient diligence, wharin these excommunicat Papist Erles sould be forefaultit, and thairefter proceedit against with fyre and sword. Efter the quhilk, the King, taking me asyde, caussit ushe² the Cabinet, and ther conferrit with me at lainthe alean³ of all purposes, and gaiff me speciall commendationes and directiones to my uncle Mr Andro, whom with me he acknowlagit to be maist fathfull and trustie subjects. Sa of the strang working of God, I, that cam to Sterling the trator, retourned to Edinbruche a grait courteour, yea a Cabinet Counsallour! And sa, indeid, continowed till these Papist Erles war brought hame and restored againe, as we will heir at lainthe heirefter.

The Parliament, according to promise, was solemnizet in the moneth of Junij, 1594, at quhilk the excommunicat Erles forsaid war, upon the intercepted wryttings and blanks,⁴ forfaulted, streat⁵ actes maid against Mes-heirars⁶ and Papists, and monie guid in favour of the Kirk, for ministers' leivings, gleibs, and manses. And I being then in grait credit, purchassit, be the King's awin speciall

¹ Appeared; had shown himself.

² Caused the Cabinet to be dissolved.

³ Alone.

⁴ See Notes to p. 306.

⁵ Strict, stringent.

⁶ Hearers of Mass.

cear and favour, ane act in favours of the honest men of St Androis, James Smithe and Jhone Walwode, for retourning of tham from exyll to thair awin countrey, citie, hous, wyff, and childring.

In the hervest quarter thairefter, the Erle of Argyll, authorised with the office of Lieutenantrie, prepeared a grait armie, with the quhilk he cam upon the Erle of Hountlie, and faught him at Glenrinnes, above Murray land, with uncertan victorie, bot graittest los to Hountlie; for excommunicat Auchindown was ther slean, with uther divers gentilmen of his kin, ther horses all spoiled, and a grait number of the best heavilie woundit; quhilk maid tham unable thairefter to mak anie resistance to the King's armie.

This was in the end of September, and, in the beginning of October following, the King, with companies of horsmen and futtmen, under wages, by¹ the comoun forces gathered be proclamation, past Northe againt these rebelles, whom my uncle Mr Andro and I, with uthers of the ministerie accompanied also at his Majestie's desyre, to bear witness of his peanes and sevear proceedings againt these, because the peiple war yit gealous over the King for his knawin and kythit² favour to the Erle of Hountlie. At our coming to Aberdein we fund na resistance, bot the enemies fled and darn'd.³ Yit the King resolvit to go fordwart to thair cheiff housses for demolishing thairrof; bot extremitie of wather steyed him till almaist the first monethe was consumed, and for the nixt ther was na pay to the wagit horsmen and futmen, wherin stud the forces that war reposit on to do the turn.⁴ It was thairfor, be his Majestie and Counsall, thought a turn wheron the haill cause dependit, to direct a man of credit, fathfulness, and diligence, to move the brouches⁵ and weill affected of all rankes to send with diligence the second monethes pay, for the quhilk I was maid choise of be the King, Counsall, and Breithring. Wharof I mak mention to the praise of my guid God, wha keipit me, and directed all aright, the message being maist peanfull and perrillus, bathe for my persone, and fame,

¹ *Forbye*, besides, over and above. themselves.

⁴ Business.

² Manifested.

⁵ Burghs.

³ Hid or concealed

and estimation. The journey was lang to go to Edinbruche and retourn again with diligence to Aberdein, in extremitie of evill wather; the countrey broken and dangerus; and that quhilk effrayed me maist, I was commandit to wrait to Eingland to Mr Bowes, ordinar Ambassatour, and to assure the Breithring of the ministerie of Edinbruche and all uther, yea to preatche it, that seing the rebels war fugitive, thair principall housses sould be demolished to testifie the King's utter indignation against thame. And yit the treuthe was, I was nocht twa dayes on my journey, when sic moyen was maid that thair sould be na mair done bot a viewing of the places and returning againe! Bot the Lord my God, haiffing a cear of me, saved all, except my man, wha, at my retourning, throw excès of travell, tuik seiknes in Cowy and died. I haid also a speciall frind behind, whom God usit as instrument to work that wark and saiff my creadit. This was my uncle, Mr Andro, wha being at Strabogy, and present in Counsall daylie, when be maniest vottes it was inclyning to spear¹ the hous, he reasoned and bure out the mater sa, be the assistance of the guid Lord Lindsay, and Capteans of horsmen and futmen, that at last the King takes upon him, contrar to the graitest part of the Counsall, to conclud the demolishing of the hous,² and giff command to the maister of wark to that effect; quhilk was nocht lang in executing be the souldiours. When all was done, lytle sound meining and small effect fordar was producit. For the King returned Southe, and left the Duc, Lieutenant, behind to accomplis the mater; wha tuk upe rigoruslie the penalties of countrey peiple that obeyed nocht the proclamations, and compounded³ easelie with the assistars of the rebels, be avaritius and craftie counsallars wha war left with him, quhilk rased a grait offence and out-cry, and litle uther guid. Alwayes,⁴ in end, these Papist, excommunicat, and forfaultit Erls, war compellit to pas aff the countrey, and sa God triumphit ower tham, till, in his justice for our sinnes, they war retournit and sett upe againe. Bot because

¹ Spare.² Of Strabogy, the Earl of Huntly's scat.³ Compounded.⁴ Nevertheless.

thairefter my diligence was thought ower grait, and my speitches ower frie in that mater, for my awin releiff and defence I haiff thought guid till inregister heir the wrytings quhilk I gat at that tyme from the King and Breithring:—

TO OUR TRAIST FRINDS, THE MINISTERS OF THE EVANGILL AT
EDINBRUCHE.

“TREST FRINDS, We greit yow hartlie weill. At the leat Conventioun of our Esteats assemblit for the preventing of the dangerous practeises of the Papists, and uthers our unnaturall subjects, joynit and conspyring the subversion of Relligion, the wrak of our persone and estate, and perpetuall thraldome of our countrey, to maist merciles strangers, it was resolvit that we sould with all celeritie haist in expedition towards the Northe, lest, giff tymous remead¹ war nocht provydit, thair expected strangers might arryve: And for the better effectuating thairof, it was thought requisit that we sould haiff our ordinarie force of horsmen and futmen, (of the quhilks our Burrowes verie kyndlie, and of guid will, yeildit to a sowme for sustaining of a thowsand futmen the space of twa monethes, as we our selff provydit be our awin privat moyen the first monethe to our horsmen,) the wather being verie unseasonable, and sic spaittes² of waters, as with grait difficultie, and nocht without perrell of a grait part of our armie, could we attain to this town befor the halff of the first monethe was expyrit: Wherby, and be the retreat of our rebelles, coveredlie, to corners and hiddilles,³ thinking to weirie us, and abyding the ischew of the pay of our waigit men, as things heir ar lyk to draw to graitter lainthe then we expected, yit seing what our departour from this might import, and whow manie dangers ar imminent, we are fullie resolved to mak our residence heir, and to depart na whar elles, whill we have fullie settled this part of the countrey, and put it to sic point as litle danger salbe fearit, giff

¹ If timely remedy.

² Floods.

³ Hiding-places.

we be aydit be your kyndlie helpe and promised releiff. We will, thairfor, maist effecteouslie desyre you, that yie wilbe instant be all meanes to move that our Brouche of Edinbruche, and the rest of our Burrowes, to have at us in this town befor the xxviiij. of this instant the second monethes pay, with the rest of the first monethes, wherof onlie that an halff yit is ressaved; without the quhilk we wilbe constreanit to leave this guid and necessar wark undone, wharby the adversaries wilbe sa encouragit as they will luk for na resistance, and haiff the countrey opin to strangers; quhilk, befor it sould fall out in our tyme, or anie blam might be imput to us, we haid rather giff croun, lyff, and whatsoever God hes put in our hands! Be nocht, thairfor, cauld nor slaw in this mater, but employ your haill means, and sie the sam effectuated, whilk we dout nocht bot yie will do, and interpon all your guid travelles and diligence to that effect. Fordar, we commit to this bearar, Mr James Melvill, whom we haiff expreslie chosin to this message, and we wis you to credit as our selff. Sa we comit you in God's holy protection. From Aberdein, the xvj. of October, 1594.

(*Sic subscribitur,*)

“JAMES R.”

TO OUR TREST FRINDS, THE PROVEST, BAILYIES, AND COUNSALL
OF OUR BROUCHE OF EDINBRUCHE, AND THE REST OF OUR
BURROWES.

“TRAIST FRINDS, We greit you hartlie weill: This bearer, Mr James Melvill, being an of the Ministerie that hes accompanied us in this haill jorney, and thairthrow best acquainted with all our proceedings in the way, and since our heir coming, We haiff takin occasion, annes earand,¹ to direct him toward you, to signifie to you particularlie, whow we haiff bein occupied, and what our intention is befor our retourn. As alswa, haiff instructed him in sic things as he sall specialie impart to you in our name, anent the furtherance

¹ For the express purpose.

of the cause in hands, whom we will deasyre you firmly to credit as our selff. And sa, remitting the mater to his sufficiencie, and the particular Letter of the rest of the Ministerie heir, We commit you to God. From Aberdein, the xv. of October, 1594.

(*Sic subscribitur,*)

"JAMES R."

TO OUR RIGHT WORSCHIPFULL AND DEIR BREITHRING THE
MINISTERS OF EDINBRUCHE.

*"Manie ar the tribulations of the righteous, but the Lord dellyvereth tham
out of tham all."*

"RIGHT WORSCHIPFULL and deir Breithring : Albeit the Lord, in justice, thretned this land withe heaveie judgments for the contempt of his favour, yit we find that in the middes of wrathe he remembrethe mercie, and owercomethe when he is judged ! For the King and his Counsall, with his hail companie, daylie growes in earnest affection to advance the guid cause against the enemies thair of, and hes reasolutlie concludit, be the grace of God, nocht to remove out of thir partes befor the utter overthrow of the adversarie caus, wherin, as we haive just occasion to prais God, sa we earnestlie recommend to your prayer the guid and happie succes of this actioun. Requy sting you lykwayes to employ your selffs with our brother Mr James Melvill, the bearer, at the hands of your awin town, that a guid cause be nocht forsaken at the utmaist point, and fall throw leak of sufficient moyen to bear it furthe ; as we dout nocht to find your effectuall assistance according to your zeall. The rest to the bearer, whom yie will creadit. The Lord preserve you, and direct all your proceedings to his glorie. From Aberdein, the xvj. of October, 1594.

"Your breithring and fellow-laborars in the Lord's hervest,

(*Sic subscribitur,*)

"AN. MELVILLE.

"MR. P. GALLOUAY.

"JA. NICOLSON."

M.D.XCV.

[In the monethe of Merche, 27, [1595,] being Furisday,¹ about alleavin houres of the night, in place of a sarie las that never leuche,² God gave me of my wyff, dearlie beloved, a pleasand boy, wha, during his infancie, being of a fyne sanguine complexioun, was a pastyme and pleasour, nocht onlie to my hail familie, bot almost throw all the town whar ever he was caried. Sa it is a guid thing to tak in **patience** whatever God sends. His guid-shyr,³ Jhone Durie, being with me at **that** tyme, gave him the bage⁴ of baptisme, and called him JHONE,⁵ in remembrance of the inspeakable grace of God bestowit on him and his successioun. The grace of God mak as mikle to kythe in him, coming to age, if **sa** be His pleasure, as appeires in the youthe inwartlie and outward !]

The yeir following, [1595,] Mr David Blak's ministerie in St Androis, quhilk haid wrought notable guid effects, bathe in the town for the weill of all the peiple's saulles, and ther republict, and guid ordour of provisioun for the pure, as also to landwart for purpose of biging of kirks, and in the Presbyterie moving non-residents to tak tham to thair kirks and charges, began now, be the devill invy-ing it, to be branglit.⁶ The instruments war the Manse-moungar, (sa Mr David named him,) Wilyeam Balfour, and his favourars, wha, fearing Mr David's prevailing against him, and evicting of his hous in the Abbay to be a manse to the Minister, causit, be divers courtiours and uthers, the King's eares to be filled with calumnious informationes of the said Mr David his doctrine and ministerie : As lykwayes be his occasioun of Mr Andro, my uncle, Rector of the Universitie, being the principall mean of the said Mr David's bringing and placing thair, and meantiner and assistar of him in his ministerie.

Sa, in the monethe of August 1595, the said Mr David and my uncle ar chargit to compeir befor the King and Counsall at Falkland, to answer for certean speitches uttered be tham in thair doc-

¹ Thursday.² Sorry, sad, or weakly girl, that never laughed. See *ante*,

p. 309.

³ Grandfather, by the mother's side.⁴ Badge, seal.⁵ John

signifies the grace, gift, or mercy of the Lord.

⁶ Menaced. O. Fr. *bransler*.

trin against his Majestic's progenitours; of the quhilk I knew na thing bot be advertisment fra my uncle from St Androis to keipe the dyet. Coming to Falkland, the King inquiryes of me, What I thought of Mr David Blak? I answerit, "I thought him a guid and godlie man, and a mightie preatchour, and a man whase ministerie haid bein verie forcible and fruitfull in St Androis."—"O," sayes the King, "yie ar the first man, and onlie, that ever I hard speak guid of him amangs ministerie, gentilmen, or burgesses!"—"Surlie, then, (says I,) I am verie sorie, Sir, that your Majestic hes nocht spoken with the best sort of them all."—"I ken," sayes the King in coler, "the best, and hes spoken with tham; bot all your seditius deallings ar clokod, and hes bein with that name of the best men."—"Then, surlie, (says I,) Sir, your Majestic sall do weill to giff Mr David a syse of anie in all tha thrie ranks, excepting nan bot sic as hes knawin particulars; and giff they fyle¹ him, I sall speak na mair in this maner to your Majestic, till your Majestic find what he is in effect." The King slipping away fra me, goes to a speciall courtier, and sayes to him, "Fathe, Mr James Melvill and I ar at our graittest, for I perceave he is all for Mr David Blak, and that sort!" The King, lest he sould irritat the Kirk be calling befor his Counsall anie Minister for thair doctrine, quhilk haid nocht succeidit weill of befor, called onlie a nomber of the Breithring of the ministerie, (namlie, sic whilk war offendit with Mr David's scharpe and plean forme of doctrine, sparing nather King nor Minister,) to try the mater, and judge thairupon.

Mr David compeiring, declynit the King's judicator, in doctrine; and as for the Breithring, he refusit tham nocht, being anie sort of Assemblie of the Kirk, rightlie callit for that effect, or utherwayes in privat to confer with thame, and satisfie tham in anie dout conceavit of his doctrine. The King summarlie and confusedlie passit ower all, and put nan of these things to interloquutor, bot called for the witnesses. And Mr David, called to sie what he haid to say against tham, answerit, Gif that was a judicator, he sould haiff an

¹ *Fyle*, find him guilty.

answer concerning the unlawfulness and incompetencie alleagit ; as lykwayes, put ceas¹ it war, as it is nocht, he sould haiff an accusar fortifeit with twa witnesses, according to the rewl of the Apostle, &c. That in lyk maner is past, and a number of witnesses is examined, Burley, the delatter² and accusar, being alwayes present : Whilk, when my uncle, Mr Andro Melvill, perceaving, chapping³ at the chalmer dure, whar we war, comes in, and efter humble reverence done to the King, he braks out with grait libertie of speitch, letting the King planlie to knaw, that quhilk dyvers tymes befor with small lyking, he haid tooned⁴ in his ear, " That thair was twa Kings in Scotland, twa Kingdomes, and twa Jurisdictiones : Thir was Chryst Jesus, &c. : And gif the King of Scotland, civill King James the Saxt, haid anie judicator or cause thair, presentlie, it sould nocht be to judge the fathfull messanger of Jesus Chryst, the King, &c., bot (turning him to the Lard of Burley, standing there) this trator, wha hes committed divers pointis of hie treasone against his Majestie's civill lawes, to his grait dishonour and offence of his guid subjects, namlie, taking of his peacable subjects on the night out of thair housses, ravishing of weimen, and reeating within his hous of the King's rebels and forfault enemies !" &c.

With this, Burley falles down on his knies to the King, and craves justice. " Justice !" sayes Mr Andro, " wald to God yow haid it ! Yow wald nocht be heir to bring a judgment from Chryst upon the King, and thus falslie and unjustlie to vex and accuse the fathfull servants of God !" The King began, with sum countenances and speitches, to command silence and dashe him ; bot he, insurging⁵ with graittr bauldnes and force of langage, buir out the mater sa, that the King was fean⁶ to tak it upe betwix tham with gentill termes and mirrie talk ; saying, " They war bathe litle men, and thair hart was at thair mouthe !" Sa that meitting was demisit the forenoone. Nather war we assemblit again in anie forme of judicator ; bot, when I perceavit the King to be incensed, and

¹ Put the case. ² The dilator or informer. ³ Knocking. ⁴ Tuned, sounded.

⁵ Rising, overflowing. Lat. *insurgere*. ⁶ Fain, glad.

verie evill-myndit bathe against Mr Andro and Mr David, I spak the Erle of Mar, being at Court, informing him of the treuthe of maters, and whow dangerus a thing it was to his Majestie, at sic a tyme, to brak out with the Kirk, whill as Boduell haid confederit¹ with the Papist Lords, and as he knew ther war presentlie a grait commotioun in all the Bordars, besought him thairfor to counsell his Majestie aright, and mitigat these maters. The quhilk he did fathfullie. And sa, the King callit Mr David to him selff, in privat and hamlie maner, desyring to understand the treuthe be way of conference; the quhilk Mr David schew him to his satisfacioun. In lyk maner, Mr Andro, wha, efter his fasone, maist frilie reasonit with the King, and tauld him his mynd betwix tham to the King's contentation; and sa, in end, his Majestie directed me, efter lang conference on thir maters, to go to St Androis and teatche, and declar the mater, sa as the peiple might be put out of evill opinion, baithe of his Majestie and thair Minister, and whow that all was weill aggreit. Whilk I did upon the morn, in St Androis, teatching the 127 Psalme; and because I knew it wald be marked, I sett down the haill poincts I was to speak, in wrait, upon that mater, as followes:

“Now, I am sure, guid Christianes and breithring, yie wald fean haiff newes from this last dyet whilk we have keipit with his Majestie at Falkland! And, indeid, the King's Majestie and breithring of the Ministerie ther convenit, fearing that quhilk in effect is fallen out, viz., the fasones of evill fame, quhilk ever reports of all things to the warst, and oftentymes sawes abroad² lies for veritie, and evill newes for guid, as we heir it hes been reported amangs yow, that the King haid begoun to put at the Kirk, and to plunge in maters with the Ministerie, namlie, haid melde³ with your Pastor, and ather put him in exyll, warde, or sylence, whilas, indeid, ther is na thing les; therfor hes his Majestie and the said breithring directed me to this place to testifie and declar the treuthe.

¹ Confederated.² Sows abroad.³ Meddled, interfered with.

First, then, it is of veritie, that a grait number of evill reports hes bein caried from this place to the King, sa bissie hes men bein, specialie sic as war twichted in thair particulars,¹ quhilk might have easelie moved and crabet² the King; bot he suspendit his opinion, and reservit all to a just tryell, as occasion might best serve for the saming.

"Amangs the rest, a delatioun of leat was maid, maist offensive and odious, That Mr David, your Pastor, by name, sould have³ publictlie from pulpit traducit the King's mother maist vyllie, to mak his Majestie contemptible in the eis of his peiple, and to steir upe the seditius to treasonable and dangerus attempts against his Majestie's estate and persone; the quhilk could nocht be sufferit unput to tryell. Compeiring then befor his Majestie, and a guid number of the breithring of the Ministerie, bathe the accusar and accusit, the accusar affirmed that your Pastor haid spokin never a guid word of the King's mother, but mikle evill; the quhilk, gif he sould nocht prove be sufficient witnesses ther present, he sould be content to tyne his land, his lyff and all.

"Your Pastor answered, he haid comendit his Majestie's mother for manie grait and rare gifts, and excellent verteus; and onlie verie sparinglie and soberlie haid twichted the treuthe of the judgments of God, quhilk haid com on hir for refusing the wholsome admonitioun of the Word of God. Sa the witnesses war producit and examined. It was fund cleir, in end, that your Pastor, contrar to the accusation, haid spokin mikle guid of the King's mother, as also haid spokin concerning the judgments of God upon hir, in hir fall.

"The King could nocht think it altogidder unlawfull to use his mother for example; bot thought it na wayes expedient in his tyme, because of the peiple, that is ever readie to draw that to the contempt of his Hienes' persone, and of the seditius and treasonable, wharof ther is manie in the land, wha ar ever readie to grip thairat; as thought the forme of men's dealing against hir, quhilk

¹ Their own interests.² Irritated, incensed.³ Had publicly, &c.

was extraordinar, might be drawin in exemple, and usit be tham : Therfor, it was thought expedient be the haill breithring ther, that nather Mr David nor na Minister sould speak a word of his Majestie's mother, till that a certean Act of the Generall Assemblie, maid thairanent at Dondie, war sein and considderit, and in all tymes coming the tennour thairof to be keipit preceislie.

“ And for satisfaction of his Majestie, the said Mr David cam maist humblic in his Majestie's presence, and acknowlagit ther, that, as he sould mak answer to God, upon the usage of his ministrie, he thought nocht that his speitches could be offensive to his Majestie, nor anie wayes meinit to haiff offendit his Hienes, bot onlie usit that exemple to bear down sinne in the persone quhilk he was rebuking ; nather yit wald he heirefter use that speitch, nor anie uther wilfullie or undewtifullie, to his Majestie's offence or displeasour ; bot as his hart wes afauld,¹ upright and maist affectioned to his Majestie, as anie subjects or Ministers in this realme, sa wald he mak it knawin in experience, and all dewtie to his Hienes heirefter. Wharwith his Majestie was weill pleasit, and in guid favour dismissed the said Mr David. Conceave thairfor rightlie and reverentlie, and stand in guid opinion bathe of your Prince and Pastor, for the discharge of all dewties addettit to tham, and pray God to keipe his Majestie in guid concord and aggriment with his fathfull and trew servands, deteasting from your harts the evill disposition of sic persones, that, for thair particular,² is sett to the contrar,”

This piece of service was weill aneuche lyked and accepted on bathe the partes ; bot my court grew les thairefter, and, as we will heir, at the ham-coming of the Papists Lords, clean deceyit. And to leave the treuthe of my courting testified befor God, befor whom I walked, I sought it nocht, but it fell on me be the occasion rehersed. When it cam on, I interteined it as I could in conscience, (quhilk, indeid, was hard to do, and cost me manie soar prik

¹ Single, sincere.

² To promote or further their own private interests.

in hart,) chieflie and first, to mak the King to ken that we loved him deirly, and wald do anie thing that ley in us for his pleasuring with the warrand of God and a guid conscience, that, by his throuche lyking and conjunction with the Kirk maters, bathe in Kirk and polecie, might go right and weill fordwart. And trewlie, I thank God, during my twa yeirs court, it was sa. Bot as I was thus about to win the King, as in me lay, to the Kirk, sa was he in winning of me to the Court; and when on ather syde all meanes was usit, and bathe keipit our groundes, without grait vantage an of another, we relented and fearlie reteired,¹ as the continowing of this storie will in the awin² place declar. The onlie particular quhilk I haid, was the pitifull esteat of the guid honest men of St Androis, whase cause and condition was joynd sa with the esteat of the Kirk and guid breithring, that thairwith it stud and fell. Bot for my selff, as God knawes, I haid never a croun be my courtein, bot spendit everie yeir the halff of my stipend thairon; and the treuthe was, I never sought nane, and I gat nan unsought.

In the monethe of September following, the Erle of Orkney, be the Lard of Burleyes moyen, cam to St Androis, as direct from the King, and reconcyld the said Lard with Mr Andro Melvill, Rector, and Mr David Blak, and Mr Robert Wallace, Ministers of St Androis, and that verie craftelie, under pretext thair of to draw again the peiple to the hous of Darsy, and cause tham change thair Provest again, as they did: For Captean Murray, perceaving the changeablenes of the peiple, and the weght of the office, demitted the sam willinglie; and sa be the uther faction of the peiple, favor-ed be Court, the Lard of Darsy was receavit again. That cost us a faschius journey to St Jhonstoun.³ Returning fra the quhilk, certean newes cam of the Chancellor, Mr Jhone Metellan's depar-tour, whom Mr Andro, Mr Robert Bruce, and I, haid visited nocht lang befor, and left at a verie guid esteat for the lyff to come. He was a man of grait lerning, wisdom, and stoutnes, and kythe in end to have the feir of God, deing a guid Christian, and lovar of

¹ Fairly retired.² In the proper.³ Perth.

Chryst's servants. And, indeid, he was a grait instrument in keiping the King af the Kirk, and fra favoring of Papists, as the yeir efter it kythed cleirlye.

M.D.XCVI.

That Wintar the hail Officiars of Esteat war alterit, and the King's hail effeares concerning his patrimonie, propertie, and casualities, war put in the hands of aught,¹ and sa almaist the hail administratioun of the realme, and thairfor named OCTAVIANS; the an halff wharof war suspected Papists, and the rest litle better. This was mikle thought of, and portendit a grait alteration in the Kirk, whilk fell out the yeir following, 1596, quhilk may be markett for a speciall periodic and fatall yeir to the Kirk of Scotland, and thairfor man tak mair pean² to schaw the maters that fell out thairin. It haid a strange varietie and mixture: The beginning thairof with a schaw of profit in planting of the Kirks with perpetuall locall stipends; the mids³ of it verie comfortable for the exercise of Reformatioun, and renewing of the Covenant; bot the end of it tragicall, in wasting the Sion of our Jerusalem, the Kirk of Edinbruche, and thretning na les to manie of the rest. The redeiming wharof, I feir be tyme, salbe fund to have cost us deirar be the los of the hail libertie of Chryst's kingdome in Scotland, nor giff all annes haid bein wasted and overrune. Wherin I pray God, of his mercie, that my feir may be fund foolishe.

[This yeir had twa prodigius things, quhilk I marked amangs us, on the coste syd. Ane in the Seinzie ouk efter Pace,⁴ the day being fear,⁵ about noone, ther fell a cloud of rean⁶ upon Kellie Law, and the mounteans besyd, that for a space covered them with rinning water, the quhilk descending thairfra, rasit sa at ane instant the

¹ Eight. ² Must take more pains. ³ Middle. ⁴ The Synod or Consistory Week, at Easter. Knox has the following pithy passage on this Assembly, which had its origin in the old Roman Catholic times:—" Efter the Pasche, he came to Edinburghe to bald the Seinye, as the Papistes tearme their unhappie Assemblie of Baale's schavin sort." *Knox's Hist.* p. 63. It was usual, during "*Seinzie week*," to have processions of the Priests, when their pretended Saints and idols were carried in great pomp through the streets, with banners, &c. ⁵ Fair. ⁶ A water-spout.

strypes and burnes, that they war unpassable to the travellars, whowbeit weill horst.¹ The burn of Anstruther was never sein sa grait in man's memorie, as it rase within an hour. The read speat² of fresche water market the sie mair nor a myll and a halff. That brought grait barrennes upon the land the yeirs following. The uthar was a monstruus grait whaale, befor the hervest cam in, upon Kincrag Sandes.³

The occupatioun and continuall laboring to eschew ruting out, maid me befor nocht to mention anie peanes takin upon planting, whowbeit ther was mikle at divers tymes, namlie, in the yeirs four-score ten, twoll and threttein yeirs.⁴ Wharanent we haid divers Commissiones from Parliament and Generall Assemblie, and quhilk indeid was bathe peanfull and expensive to me, amangs uthers; bot because I can recompt na effect of tham,⁵ I sall set down this yeir's wark alleanerlie, when Commissiones war giffen out upon an act of Parliament and letters, to dell with taxmen⁶ and all titulars of teinds for effectuating of the best Constant Plat, that efter lang advysment takin amangs us wes put in ordour and pennit be Mr Jhone Lindsay, Secretar, and the quhilk to serve for all those biotik⁷ maters, I thought meit to be heir insert; if that first I mark a⁸ thing that I hard Mr Alexander Hay, Clerk Register, a man of anie in Scotland maist exerceised in tha maters, and the said Mr Jhone Lindsay, a man of the graitest lerning and solid naturall wit joyned with that, I knew, controvert divers tymes, bathe be worde and wrait, anent that Plat: The an, halding that it was an impossibilitie, as things stud in Scotland, to devyse a Constant Platt, or,

¹ Horsed, mounted.² The flood, carrying the red-coloured soil into the sea.³ Margin of MS.⁴ In the years 1590, 1592, 1593.⁵ "For the generall,

whowbeit I man remember, to the grait praise of God, that our particular travelles war sa biasit, that whar at our coming to St Androis ther was nocht passing four or fyve Kirks thairabout planted with Ministers, ther is this day saxtein or sevinein in the Presbyterie thair of; manie of them alsweill provydit as anie of the countrie, 1600." [This is added, at a subsequent date, by the Author on the margin of the MS.]

⁶ Tacksmen, lease-holders.⁷ Extraordinary, out of the way.⁸ One.

giff it war devysit, to effectuat it; and deid¹ in that opinion: The uther, to wit, Mr Jhone, halding that bathe was possible; and thairfor sett him self to devyse the sam, and put it *in mundo*² as followes; bot, concerning the effectuating thair of, he died in the sam fathe with the Clark Register!

THE NEW AND CONSTANT PLAT OF PLANTING THE HAILL KIRKS OF
SCOTLAND, PENNED TO BE PRESENTED TO THE KING AND ESTEATS
IN ANNO 1596.

“OURE SOVERANE LORD, with consent of his Thrie Estaits in Parliament, understanding that be the Law of God it is expreslie commandit, lykas alsua for interteinment³ of Relligioun and God's service, it is mair nor necessar that the Ministers of his Holie Word haiff sufficient rents for thair honest sustentatioun:

Kirk-rent damnified be Annexatiouns, Erectionnes, Setting of lang Taks, Payment of Silver-dewtie, Lyffrents, Assignationnes, Pensionnes, King's Superplus, Comoun Kirks, First Fruits, Fyft Pennie, Patronages, Dispositions of Benifices, Ratificationnes in Parl.

“Considering also that the rents and patrimonie quhilk pertained of auld to the Kirk is graitumlie damnified and exhaust be the annexatioun of the haill temporalitie thair of to his Hienes' Croun, and be the erectionnes of a grait part of the said temporall lands of the Kirk with divers Kirks and Teinds includit thairwith in new Temporall Lordschipes, and be the new fasone of setting of lang takes of the said teinds for divers nyntein yeirs, and lyff-rents successive for payment of small silver-dewtie, nawayes equivalent to the halff of the reasonable valor of the saids Teinds; and be the pretendit rightes of sa monic persones lyff-rents, assignationnes, and uther dispositionnes of the said Teinds and dewties of taks, and be his Majestic's rights of the Thrids, superplus, comoun Kirks, first-

¹ Died.

² Write it out fairly.

³ Maintenance, support.

fruits, and fyft-pennie of ilk benefice, rights and disposition of the sam, proceeding from his Hienes efter his perfyte age; and fra his Grace's predecessours, for the maist part ratified in Parliament: Wharby ther is na moyen¹ left presentlie to augment the small stipend of anie pure² Minister, albeit he haid never sa grait necessitie; nor yit to plant anie new Ministers at anie Congregation, albeit the maist part of all the Paroche³ Kirks of Scotland ar altogether destitute of all exercise of Relligioun: And that ther is a grait number of Ministers nocht provydit, but awating upon sum speciall charge and vocation, lyk as a grait number of guid schoolers of the youthe of this realme, for the lyk povertie, is compellit to pas to France, to the grait danger of apostasie fra Relligioun, whar utherwayes they might be profitable to the Kirk, and might be honestlie interteined upon the said Teinds:

Teinds, be all Law, the Kirk's just right.—Na new Provision to Prelacies befor the Ministers of the Kirks be provydit.

“Quhilk Teinds nocht onlie befor the wrytten Law of God, and thairefter be expres commandiment of the sam, bot also be the consent of all nationnes, and specialie of this realme, hes ever pertained to the Kirk; wherby of all reasone the Kirk, haveing na uther patrimonie, aught to be meanteined in the right and possessioun of the saids Teinds, at leist ay and whill⁴ they be sufficientlie provydit utherwayes: Conforme to the quhilk, divers Actes hes bein maid in Parliament, that befor the new provision of anie Prelat, the Ministers at the Kirks and Paroches united to the said Prelacie should be first provydit to sufficient Stipends, utherwayes the provision of the Prelacie to be null.

Act of Parliament [15]67.—Act of Annexatioun.—[Manses, Gleibs.]

“And lykwayes, in the tent act of the Parliament, hauldin 1567, it is ordeanit, that the hail Thriddes should be first employed to the use of the Ministers, ay and whill the Kirk com in possessioun of

¹ Means.² Poor.³ Parish.⁴ Until.

thair awin patrimonie, quhilk is the Teinds. And als, in the said act of Annexatioun, and divers uther loveable actes, it is expreslie provydit, that the Ministers sould be sufficientlie provydit of leivings¹ furthe of the best and readiest of the spiritualities, and that they sould be provydit in tytle to all small benefices; that they sould be provydit to Manses and Gleibs, for thair residence at thair Kirks; and that laic Patrones sould provyde *qualifiet* persones.

“Whilk actes hes nocht tean² fullie effect, but, on the contrar, the leivings of the said Ministers left incerteanelie to be sought from yeir to yeir at his Hienes' Checquer,³ out of the Thrids, with infinit proces in law, be reasone of the manifold dispositiones of the said Thrides to uther laic persones, proceeding fra his Hienes as having right to the haill Thrids, comoun Kirks, superplus, fyft-pennie, and temporalitie of ilk benefice, and be reasone of the collation of benefices *pleno jure* to persones na wayes qualesied, contrar to the guid meining and intencion of the forsaid actes of Parliament, to the utter wrak and distruction of the Kirk be plean povertie, as the profest enemies of Chryst wald have done of auld, giff spidie remedie be nocht fund :

All Teinds the proper Patrimonie of the Kirk.

“THAIRFOR his Hienes, remembering that ther is na thing mair proper to his royall office nor⁴ to be the nurissar of the trew Kirk, and to be cairfull of the advancement of the trew Relligioun, and continowing thair of to the posteritie, with consent of the Estaits in Parliament, be the tennour of this act, DECLARES, That the haill Teinds of this realme, bathe of Personages and Vicarages, asweill united to Prelacies and uther dignities as nocht united, and uther Teinds whatsumever, hes pertained in all tymes bygean, and sall pertain in all tymes coming to the Kirk, as thair proper patrimonie : And of new, with consent forsaid, giffes, grants, and dispoones, and perpetualie mortefies the saids Teinds of all Personages and Vicar-

¹ Livings.

² Taken.

³ Exchequer.

⁴ Than.

ages, and uther Benefices whatsumever within this realme, to the Kirk, to remean thairwith as thair awin proper Patrimonie, conform to the tennour of this present Act, in all tymes coming.

1. *Locall Stipends of a modifiet quantitie of Victuall, out of sic and sic Towns, in everie Paroche, with Gleib and Manse, nochtwithstanding anie man's right whatsumever.*

“ And with advys forsaid, statutes and ordeanes that the Lords of Checquar, with sic of the Ministerie as salbe apointed heirunto, being of æqual number with the saids Lords, sall modifie and assing¹ out of certean townes of ilk Paroche² a certean quantity of victuall of the Teind-scheaves thairof, and uther dewties of the Vicarage, as the nature of the ground may pay, with the manse and hail gleib land, giff the sam remean yit unfewed ; and giff the said gleib be fewed, four aikers of the said gleib, wither the sam be of the Persones', Vicars', Bischopes', Pryors' or Pryoreses', Deans' or Sub-deans', Abbayes', or anie uther Kirk-land for the gleib ; as an locall stipend to ilk Paroche Kirk of this realm, without exception, for sustentation of the Minister thairat sufficientlie and honestlie in all respects of the fruicts of the paroche it self, nochtwithstanding the saids Kirks be annexed to Prelacies or uther Benefices or nocht, doted to Colleages or Universities, or utherwayes perteing to auld possessours of whatsumever degrie, or to Ministers newlie provydit in tyle thairto, at the King's presentation or laic patrones', devydit amangs manie Prebendaries, Dignities, or Chaplanries, or nocht devydit, comoun Kirks, or uther whatsumever qualitie or condition the said paroche Kirks hes bein, or be whatsumever maner of way the Teinds thairof hes bein bruiked in tymes bypast ; and nochtwithstanding all and whatsumever right his Majestie may haiff or pretend to the Thrids, superplus, first-fruicts, and fyft-pennie of the saids benefices ; and nochtwithstanding of all pensiones, takes,³ assignationes, lyffrents, erectionnes, of the said Teinds, or anie part thairof, in an temporall Lordschipe, provision to Prelacies, or uther bene-

¹ Assign.² Parish.³ Tacks, Leases.

fices, uniones, or divisiones of the saids paroches and uther dispositionnes of the saids Teinds, or anie part thair of whatsumever, proceeding from his Majestie or his predecessours, efter his or thair perfyt age, confirmed in Parliament, with whatsumever solemnitie or utherways, to whatsumever Castelles, Collages, or Universities, particular persone of whatsumever degrie : And nochtwithstanding whatsumever uther taks, pensionnes, lyffrents, fewing of the saids Teinds, with landes, and fewing of the saids gleibs, and uther disposition whatsumever, maid be Prelates or beneficed persones, with consent of thair Chaptours, to whatsumever particular persone, Collage, or Universitie, for whatsumever space of yeirs or yeirlie dewtie : And nochtwithstanding the privilage of Lords of Sessioun, and actes of Parliaments, and uther lawes bygean, uniones, annexationnes, and incorporationes of severall parochie Kirks to a Prelacie or uther benefice, or division of the fruicts of a parochine amang manie Prebendaries, or Chapleains, or uthers ; and nochtwithstanding of all uther impediments quhilk anie way may stay the full execution of this present Act.

“DECLARING all and whatsumever the forsaid provisions of benefices, uniones, incorporationes, divisiones, takes, pensionnes, lyffrents, erectiones, and fewing of Teinds, Manses, Gleibs, privileges, actes, lawes, and constitutionnes, formar and uther dispositionnes whatsumever of the saids Teinds, Manses, and Gleibs, proceeding from his Majestie, or his Majestie's predecessours, or fra whatsumever uther beneficed persone, with whatsumever solemnitie, to be null in tyme coming, in sa far as they may mak anie prejudice to this present act, and to the particular locall assignatioun of stipends to be assigned to ilk parochie kirk, conform thairto, and to the full execution thair of, but¹ anie uther reduction or declaratour of law. Withe powar to the saids Lords and Ministers to tak trew tryall of the valour² of the saids Teinds, and to apoint, ordean, and assigne the saids perpetuall locall stipend at ilk parochie out of sic speciall towns and lands of the said paroches, and to unite³ severall

¹ Without.² Worth, value. Lat. *valor*.³ Unite.

paroches in an,¹ or dissiver and separat an in ma,² withe consent of the parochinars.

Buik.—The Ministers' right to the Teinds locallie assigned, with reservatioun.

“And to mak a special buik thairupon, and generallie to do all things necessar for this effect. Whilk locall assignationes of stipends and teinds whatsumever of the particular townes and lands to be specified thairin, sall pertain als frielie to the Minister of the said parochie as giff he haid bein provydit of auld in tytle thairto. Withe powar to the said Minister to collect, gather, and intromeat with, and to mak warnings and inhebitiounes against the possessours of the saids Teinds, Manses, and Gleibs, with als grait effect as anie Persone or Vicar, or anie uther beneficed persone might have done in anie tymes bypast, nochtwithstanding all impediments forsaid and uther whatsumever, but prejudice of the saids Ministers' rightes to the haill remanent of the saids benefices, when the sam sall veak³ and fall in thair hands be deceas of the present possessours, reducing or expyryng of takes, or utherwayes whatsumever, and of the frie dispositioun thairupon as accordes of the law, and conform to this present act in all poincts.

2. Dissolution of grait Benefices.—Patronages.

“And for the better executioun of the premisses, Our Sovereine Lord, with advys forsaid, dissolves expreslie all and whatsumever uniones of severall parochie Kirks to Prelacies, Benefices of dignitie and uthers, and suppresses and abrogattes the name and styldes of the said Prelacies and dignities, and unites of new the Teinds of ilk parochie whar the sam was devydit of auld amangs manie Prebendaries, Chapleanes, or uthers, in a haill benefice; and ordeanes that Ministers be provydit in tytle to ilk parochie Kirk in particular, quhilk was befor united to Prelacies now vacand, or quhilk hes vacked in his Grace's hands sen the Parliament halden at anno 1584, or quhilk sall in anie wayes veak heirefter be dimis-

¹ Into one.

² One into more.

³ Become vacant.

sioun, deprivation, or utherwayes whatsumever; and to all uther severall¹ paroches, vacand bathe to the parsonages and vicarages thairof, with the manse and gleib of four aikers of land, conform to the formar actes maid anent the saids gleibs and manses; at the quhilk Kirks the said Ministers salbe oblesit to mak thair residence, and sall haiff intromissioun with the fruicts thairof, conform to this present act and Buik of Perpetuall Modificatioun of the locall Stipends to follow heirupon. And efter thair diceas, demissioun, or deprivation, uther qualefiet persones to be presented thairto be his Hienes and his Grace's successours, and be uthers haveand the right of presentatioun and patronage thairof; and that na new Prebendaries salbe provydit efter the deceis of the present possessours, bot the rent to accres to the leiving of the Minister, conform to this Act, etc.

3. *The Estimators of the Valor of everie Towne's Teinds.*

"And because it is maist necessar that the saids locall stipends be of a certean quantitie, according to the nature of the ground, and out of certean special landes maist ewest² to the Kirk and commodius for the Minister, that the Minister may know whom of to crave his dewtie. And seing it is impossible to the Lords of Checquar to know what landes till³ apoinct for payement heirof, be reasone they know nocht nather the names of the lands nor the valour of the Teind-scheaves of ilk particular town and land within this realme; Thairfor his Hienes, with advys forsaid, ordeans, that ilk Presbyterie within this realme, with advys of thrie Barrones or landit gentilmen, wha hes thair residence within the said Presbyterie, of guid relligioun, and leist participant of Kirk rents, chosin be advys of the Generall Assemblie, and failyeing of the concurrence of the saids Barrones, that the saids Presbyteries be tham selves sall have powar till estimat reasonable the valour of Teinds, bathe Personage and Vicarage, of ilk particular townes and landes lyand within ilk ane of the saids paroches of thair Presbyteries, and of the commodiusnes thairof to the sustentatioun of the Minister:

¹ Separate.

² Lying nearest, most contiguous.

³ To.

Whilk estimatioun salbe publiſt upon twa severall Sondayes in tyme of Divyne service in the said parochie Kirks, with proviſioun, that whatſumever partie enterest in anie wayes be the said estimatioun, and pleiſe to complean thairupon, ſall haiff maiſt ſummar remead, befor the ſaids Lords of Checquar, efter ſummarie cognitioun of the cauſe betwix the ſaid Presbyterie and particular Miniſter of the parochie Kirk, and generall Procutour for the Kirk, or uthers having enteres on the an part, and the ſaid partie compleaner on the uther part.

4. *The maner of setting Takes.*

“Attour, becauſe the dilapidatioun of the rents of the Kirk hes proceidit for the maiſt part fra the Kirk men tham ſelves, wha haid ower grait libertie to ſett ſic lang takes and fewes, and for ſic dewtie as they pleaſit, the ſolemnitie of ordinar Chaptours ſerving nocht to reſtrea the ſaid dilapidatioun for the quhilk they war firſt inſtitut, bot rather to authoriſe the ſam, quhilk Chaptours for the maiſt part ar now worn away; Thairfor, Our Sovereine Lord, with advys forſaid, ſtatutes and ordeanes, that na Miniſter or benefited perſone ſall have powar to ſett in tak, or mak anie kynd of diſpoſitioun, alteratioun, or change in anie wayes, the eſteat of the locall Stipends of the paroches, with whatſumever conſent or ſolemnitie; nather to ſett new takſ or to renew auld takſ of whatſumever uther Teinds of his parochie, or of anie part thairof, or mak whatſumever diſpoſitioun of the ſam in tymes coming, without the conſent of the haill or maiſt part of the Presbyterie wherim the parochie lyes, aſſemblit at thair ordinarie day of conveying, efter reaſoning twa former ordinarie dayes anent the æquitie of the ſetting, renewing, or making of the ſaids takſ and diſpoſitiounes: And declares, that the converting of victuall or uther dewties in ſilver ſalbe expreſſe diminutioun of the rental, and a cauſe of nullitie or reduction.

5. *For eſchewing of anti-daittes and lang Takes.*

“And for eſchewing of ante-deatting of Takes and rightes of

Teinds whatsumever, and of the infinit tyme for the quhilk the sam is sett in tyme bypast, his Hienes, with advys foresaid, ordeanes, That all and whatsumever Taks of whatsumever Teinds sett in anie tyme preceeding the dait heiroyf, for whatsumever langer tyme of manie nyntein yeir takes or lyffrents *successivè*, sall indure onlie for the space of nyntein yeirs efter the dait of the saids Taks. Withe provision, that whatsumever nyntein yeirs taks or lyffrent of teinds, quhilk hes nocht begoun in the settar's tyme, salbe null and of nan aveall, albeit an uther nyntein yeir tak or lyffrent continued in that sam tak hes begoun or run out in the said settar's tym. And that all former takes of teinds preceeding the dait heiroyf, lyffrents, assignationnes, pensionnes, erectionnes, fewes, and uther dispositionnes of teinds, salbe producit befor the Lords of Checquare before the day of nixtocome, and registrat in the buiks of the Collectorie; at the leist, sa mikle of the saids erectionnes and fewes to be registrat as concernes the right of teinds contenit thairin: And the dait of the registratioun thairof, and the persone ingiffar of the saids taks and uther rights, to be registrat thairwith in lyk maner, and market and subscrivit be the Collectour Clark upon the bak of the saids taks and rightes, for eschewing of all fraudes quhilk may be heirin; withe certificatioun, that the takes and uther rightes of whatsumever teinds nocht registrat, as said is, salbe null, and mak na fathe in judgment nor without. And that the imprenting or publicatioun of this Act salbe sufficient intimatioun heiroyf, and of the certificatioun forsaid, without any uther speciall Lettres, etc.

6. *For eschewing the faschrie and danger of Spuylie.*

“MAIROVER, because the Ministers and uther beneficed or laic persones, having the right of teinds of uther mene's heritage, oftymes unjustlie troubles bathe tham selves and the lawfull possessours of the saids teinds, with inhibitiones and actionnes of spuylie, wherby they compell tham to height thair teinds above the reasonable valor: Thairfor, Our Soverain Lord, with advys forsaid, declares and ordeanes, that whatsumever persone is lawfullie in the naturall possession of teinds be the leading and intromeatting thairwith, the

heritage or present right of possessioun of the land being his awin, and makes guid and thankfull payment within dayes efter ilk term, of the dewtie of the said teinds, conform to the estimatioun above wrettin, to be maid be the Presbyteries forsaid to the Ministers and uthers having right to the said teinds, in that ceas the said persone salbe frie of all actioun of spulyie, and danger quhilk may follow upon inhibitiones led against him thairanent: Provyding alwayes, that whatsumever persone committes anie violence in ejecting of an uther furth of the naturall possessioun of leadding of teinds, salbe subject ather to the actioun of spulyie, or to the quadruple of the estimatioun forsaid, at the optioun of the partie ejected, as said is. Lykas also it is provydit, that whar the right, bathe of the propertie, and present right of the actual possessioun of the land, and als of the teinds, concures in a¹ man's persone, it sall be leisome² to him to use inhibitiones, and conform to the auld ordour, apprehend possessioun of his awin teinds, payand alwayes the dewtie and valuatioun thair of to the Minister, or uthers haiffing right. In the quhilk cais, the offer of the æstimatioun forsaid salbe na relevant defence to rescind the naturall possessioun of the teinds of an uther persone's heritage: And to eschew the danger of spulyie in prejudice of him wha hes the right bathe of the lands and teinds, as said is, and in favour of him wha hes na present right to the actual possessioun of an uther mane's land, nor yit of the Teinds thair of, etc.

7. *The Rentall of the Superplus.*

“Attour, be reasone that the said Patrimonie of the Kirk sould also sustein and uphauuld Scholes and Pure³ with the comoun effeares of the Kirk, and uther godlie uses; Thairfor, Our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, statutes and ordeanes, that a perfynt Rentall be maid of the superplus of the rents of ilk Paroche Kirk, by and attoure the forsaid locall Stipends, conteining the rightes, be the quhilk the superplus of ilk benefice is presentlie possessit, and that the Minister, albeit he be provydit in tytle to the hail benefice, and haiff the collectione of the hail fructs thair of, and libertie to re-

¹ One.² Allowable, lawful.³ Poor.

duce takes or fewes, as anie uther beneficed persone might have done of befor, yit the saids Ministers sall nocht have the frie dispositioun of the said superplus to thair awin use, bot salbe comptable thairfor to tham wha sall obtien the right thairof. And in ceas of thair failyie in thankfull payment, or commit violence, they salbe subject to the danger of spulyies, duple or quadruple of the estimatioun forsaid, siclyk as uthers that makes nocht payment thankfullie to the said Ministers tham selves, conform to the formar Article.

8. *Distribution of the Superplus.*

“And as for the said Superplus of the Rent of ilk particular Paroche Kirk, by and attour the locall and perpetuall stipend apointed for the Minister, whilk superplus ather presentlie pertienes to the Kirk be vacking¹ of the benefice or utherwayes, or sall heir-eter pertien or fall in the Kirk's hands, be expyryng or reductioun of Taks and uther rightes, deceis of the present possessours, or utherwayes whatsumever; Our Soverain Lord, with advys foresaid, ordeanes and statutes, that the said superplus salbe dispoit be advys of the Lords of Checquar, and breither of the ministerie apointed for Modificatioun of Ministers' Stipends: First, to the Collages and Lords of Sessioun, and auld possessours of the benefices induring thair lyfftymes, forsamikle as salbe tean² fra tham be the present ordour: Nixt, that the comoun effeares of the Kirk be sufficientlie susteined thairupon: Thridlie, that reasonable consideratioun be haid of the Pure, of Strangers, of Weidows, and Orphelings; Reparatioun of Brigges, Kirks, Hospitalles, and uther godlie warks: And gif ther be anie rest,³ the sam salbe collected and keiped to the use of the Kirk, and at thair dispositioun alleanerlie.

The Comoun Effeares of the Kirk, the Scholles, and Pure, to be provydit out of the Superplus, sufficientlie, first of all.

“And whatsumever particular persone, Collage, or uther, sall obtien assignatioun of anie part of the superplus be the saids Lords and modifiers, thair said assignatioun and letters thairupon salbe speci-

¹ Vacancy, remaining vacant.

² Taken.

³ Residue.

alie in quantitie, and out of what townes and landes the sam is assigned; and the saids lettres salbe specialie directed against the tenents and actuall possessours of the saids particular lands, and the Minister of the parochie alleanerlie, swa that na lettres in tyme coming be directed generall against 'all and sindrie parochinars,' etc.; and of the best and readiest of the fruicts quhair the right quhairupon the lettres passes extendes onlie to ane part of the fruicts, and nocht to the hail fruicts of the parochie, as wes of befor, quhilk was the occasioun of grait confusioun.

9. *Commissionars from Presbyteries to Voit in Parliament.*

"And because the Prelacies in effect war befor dissolvit, the hail temporalities thairof being annexit to the Croun, and Ministers' Stipends ordeanit to be tean out of the Parochie Kirks united and incorporated thairwith, lyk as be this ordour the hail Spiritualitie and Teinds is of new destinat, gevin, and mortefied to the Kirk, quherby the saids Prelacies is alluterlie dissolvit, and sa ceisses in tymes coming to be an of our Esteattes in Parliament: Therfor, Our Sovereine Lord, with advys forsaid, statutes and ordeanes, that in tyme coming ilk Presbyterie sall send, of thair awin number, ane Commissionar to the Parliament, out of the quhilk hail number of Commissionars the rest of the Esteattes sall chuse sa manie as, being joyned with the auld possessours of the Prelacies quha salbe present for the tyme, may mak out the full and compleit number of tham wha hes vott in Parliament for the estate of the Kirk, quhilk number salbe æquall with the number of anie of the uther Esteattes. And efter the deceis of the hail present possessours of Prelacies, the hail number of the Kirk's Estate salbe elected, and tean of the saids Commissionars of Presbyteries, wha sall have sic vott, privileges, and liberties in Parliament as the saids Prelattes haid of befor, etc.

Act of Februar.

"And to the effect that the rightes of na parties be farder prejudget, Our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, Ratifies all actes and

statutes, maid of befor in favour of the Kirk, in sa far as the sam aggries or may in any way fortife this present act : And speciallie, the Act be Secret Counsall, Sessioun, and Checquare, upon the 14 of Februar, 1587 : And in lyk maner, all Actes and Statutes maid in favour of Fewes, Takes, Patronages, Pensiounes, Erectiounes, and uther dispositiounes of the Kirk-rents, in sa far as they ar nocht contrare or anie wayes repugnant to this present act, and full execution thairof. Quhilk Actes, togidder with all and whatsumever rights pertaining to privat persones and parties, sic as fewes, provision of their benefices, erectionnes, takes, lyffrents, pensionnes, patronages, assignationnes, and dispositionnes whatsumever of the Teinds, sall stand in the sam force as of befor the making of thir presents ; exceptand, planlie, in sa far as they ar expreslie prejudgit be the said locall stipend to be apointed at everie particular parochie, conform to the tennour of this present Act, and Buik of particular Modificatioun to follow thairupon, and uther provisious and restrictiounes expreslie contained heirin.

“ Lykas our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, abrogates all former lawes, actes, constitutionnes, practiques, and ordinances whatsumever, quhilk may in anie wayes hinder, stope, or impeded this present act and full force and execution thairof ; and declares whatsumever salbe done in the contrar thairof, or anie part of it, the feilyie and contraventioun salbe tryed, and the right, disposition, or uther deid whatsumever done contrar to the tennour heiroyf, salbe reducit and annullit, as weill be way of exceptioun, reply, or duple, as be way of action. Lykas our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, commands that na Judges remit to an action, or delay the proponar of the said nullities be way of exceptioun, reply, or duple, but proceid instantlie to the tryell of the said nullitie, as said is.

10. *The Modifeing of the Local Stipend proportionable.*

“ Attour, because there is divers and sindrie persones wha presentlie brukes the rents of ilka parochie Kirk, Our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, ordeanes, that the quantitie of the locall and

perpetuall stipends sould be æqualie tean fra ilk an of the saids persones proportionalie, at the least ilk an to releive uthers proportionalie, according to the frie profit quhilk they receave of the saids Teinds, at the discretioun and summar cognitioun of the saids modifiers, wha salbe onlie judges heirin, and sall try, judge, and cognos sumarleie upon the æquitie of the releiff betwix the possessours of the saids Teinds, sic as whar ther is an Prelat or auld provydit man, an or ma Taksmen or pensionars, new erected Lordschipe, with Teinds includit, with the fewes of lands, fewes of fermes, and whatsumever uther varietie ther is of rightes, be the quhilk the possessour of the Teinds of ilk parochie respective bruikes the sam.

11. *The King's Right and Releiff.*

“And what releiff the rest aught to mak to them fra whom immediatlie the rightes of the Teinds is tean, quhilk salbe assigned for the perpetuall locall Stipend of ilk Parochie Kirk, quherein also salbe considerit the right quhilk our Soverain Lord haid to the Thriddes or anie uther partes of the Benefices, togidder with sic uther actionnes for the quhilk his Majestie might have chargit the possessours of the said Teinds. Lykas also the saids Lords of the Checquar, in the making of the said releiff, sall consider immunities and privilage, and rightes quhilk parties haid of befor, and validitie thairof, with all uther circumstances, *ex æquo et bono* : And for this effect, Our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, giffes powar to the saids Lords of Checquar, and Ministers specialie to be apointed, be his Hienes' Commissioun, being alwayes æquall in number with the saids Lords, to interpret all obscurities, and to decyde summarlie all controversies, quhilk sall aryse upon this present act, and upon the forsaid releiff, betwix all parties subject thairto.

“FINIS.”

This Plat was thought the best and maist exact that ever was devysit or sett down, and wald, sum litle things amendit, [haiff] bein glaidlie receavit be the breithring of best judgment, gif, in the

monethe of August 1596, ther haid nocht bein ane act of Esteattes devysit anent the renewing of the Takes of Teinds to the present takismen for thair granting to the Perpetuall Plat, quhilk in effect maid the Teinds in all tyme comming heritable to tham; thir locall stipends and a portioun to the King sett asyde in ilka parochie.¹ To the quhilk, nather the Kirk, nor gentilmen whase teinds was in uther men's possessioun, could nor wald condescend to. And sa, as I mentioned befor, the cheiff of this wark gaiff it ower as a thing nocht lyk to be done in his dayes.

The Generall Assemblie, convenit at Edinbruche in the monethe of Apryll that yeir, 1596, be the motioun of sum godlie fathers and guid zealus breithring, was almaist haillelie occupied in tryall of thair members, and exerceis of repentance and reformatioun of corruptions in the office and lyves of the Ministerie; and remembering whow the peiple of God upon divers ocasioness, namlie a grait apprehensioun of thair sinnes and God's judgments imminent thairfor, did tak tham to Humiliation and Fasting, and Renewing the Covenant of mercie and grace with thair God, for preventing of his judgments, and continuance of his gratius favour: As in the Plean² of Moab, be the motioun and direction of Moses, Deut. xxix. and xxx.; in the Field of Sichem, at Silo, be Josua, Jos. xxiv.; be Samuel, in Mizpa, 1 Sam. vii.; at Jerusalem, in the hous of the Lord, be Joiada, 2 Cornicl. xxiii.; sic lyk in the sam place be Josia, 2 Kings xxiii.; as also be Ezra and Nehemias; they thought it maist neidfull to giff tham selves to the saming, beginning ther presentlie amangs the Pastors at that Assemblie, and be that exemple to pas to the Synods in everie Province, and from tham to the Presbyteries, and sa to everie Congregation in particular. The quhilk, of the grait mercie and blessing of God, was effectuat, the Lord preparing his servants and Kirk for a tryall following, be a maist profitable and comfortable exerceis going befor; yea, making that fairfull invasioun of the devill to com on when his servants war

¹ In each parish.² Plain.

best sett and maist happelie occupied, quhilk giffes¹ me yit assurance that God will yit in mercie repear the brakes² and decayes of his Jerusalem !

First, certean Breithring of scharpest and best insight war sett asyde to pen The Enormities and Corruptiounes of the Ministerie, and the Remead thair of; the quhilk, returnit to the Assemblie, was hard, considerit, and allowit. The tennour, in substance, wharof followes :—

THE TENNOR OF THE ADVYSE OF THE BREITHRING DEPUT FOR
PENNING OF THE ENORMITIES AND CORRUPTIONS OF THE MINI-
STRIE, AND REMEAD THAIROF ALLOWIT BE THE GENERALL AS-
SEMBLIE, APR. 1596.

Corruptions in the Office.

• “FORSAMIKLE as, be the over suddan admissioun and light tryall of persones that entres in the Ministerie, it comes to pas that manie sklanders falles out in the persones of Ministers, It wald be ordeanit, for remead in tyme coming, that mair diligent inquisition and tryall be usit of all sic persones as sall enter in the Ministrie : As specialie, in thir pointis, That the intrant salbe posit upon his conscience, in the presence of God, and that in maist grave manner, What moves him to accept the office and charge of the Ministerie upon him ? If it be a trew inwart motioun and desyre to serve God and win saulles to Chryst, or warldlie moyen of lyff and preferment ? That it be inquyrit giff anie, be solistation or moyen,³ directlie or indirectlie, pres to enter in the said office ? And it being fund, that the solistar be repellit ; and that the Presbyterie repell all sic of thair number fra voting in the electioun or admissioun as salbe fund moyennars for the sollicitar, posit upon thair conscience to declar the treuthe for that effect.

“Because, be Presentationnes, manie are intrusit forcible in the

¹ Gives.

² Breaches.

³ Interest, influence.

Ministrie and upon Congregationnes, that utters thairefter that they war nocht callit be God, It wald be provydit, that nan seik presentationnes to Benefices without advys of the Presbyterie within the bounds wharof the benefice lyes; and giff anie do in the contrare, to be repelled as *rei ambitus*.

“ That the tryall of persones to be admitted to the Ministerie heirefter, consist nocht only in thair lerning and abilitie to preitche, bot also in conscience, and feiling, and spirituall wesdome, and namlie in the knowlage of the bounds of thair calling, in doctrine, discipline, and wesdome, that he may behave him selff accordinglie with the divers rankes of persones within his flock, as namlie Atheists, rebellius, and those that ar vexit with divers tentationes, and ar waik in conscience, and sic uther wherin the pastorall charge is maist kythed, and that he be meit to stope the mouthe and convince the adversars: And sic as ar nocht fund qualifeit in thir poincts, to be deleyit till fordar tryall, if ther be appeirance they may be fand qualefiet. And because men may be meit for sum places that ar nocht for uther, it wald be considerit that the principall places of the realme be provydit be men of maist worthie gifts, wesdome, and experience, and that nan tak the charge of graitter number of peiple nor they ar able to govern; and that this Assemblie tak ordour thairwith.

“ That sic as salbe fund nocht gevin to thair buik, and studie of Scriptures, nocht cairfull to have buikes, nocht gevin to sanctification and prayer, that studie nocht to be powerfull and spirituall in doctrine, nocht applying the sam to everie corruptioun, quhilk is the pastorall gift, obscure and over scholastic befor the peiple, cauld and wanting spirituall zeall, negligent in visiting of the seik, and caring for the pure, indiscreit in schosing of parts of the Word nocht meit for the flok, flatterers, and dissembling at publict sinnes, namlie of grait personages, in thair Congregationes, for ather flatterie or feir: That all sic personnes be censured according to the degrees of thair faults; and if they amend nocht, bot continow thairunto, to be depryved.

“ That sic as be sleuthfull in the ministration of the Sacraments,

and irreverent profaners thair of, receaving clein and unclein, ignorant and senses, profan, making na conscience of thair professioun in thair calling and families, omitting dew tryell and examinatioun, or using light, or nan at all, or having in thair tryell respect of persones, wharin ther is manifauld corruptiones ; that all sic be scharp-lie rebuked, and if they continow thairin, deposit.

“ Giff anie be fund sellars of the Sacraments, or colludars with sklanderus persones in dispensing and ower-seing¹ tham for money, be deposit *simpliciter*.

“ That everie Minister be chargit to have a Sessioun established of the meittest men in his Congregatioun, and that discipline, strik nocht onlie upon gros sinnes, as hurdome, blodshed, &c., bot upon all sinnes repugnant to the Word of God, as blasphemie of God's nam, swearing in vean, banning,² profaning of the Sabathe, disobedience to parents, idle, unrewlie annes without calling, drunkards, and sic lyk deboushit men as hes na conscience in thair lyff and rewling of thair families, specialie in bringing upe of thair bernies, liars, sklanderars, bakbyters, braullars, uncharitable, merciles, brakers of promise, &c., and this to be an universall rewl throuhout the realme. And sic as be negligent heirin, and continow, efter admonitioun, in thair negligence, to be deposit.

“ That ther be a cair in receaving of sic as fall in publict sklander, to sie tham nocht onlie gif outward obedience by constrent, quhilk is the Magistrat's office, bot to find appeirand warrand in conscience of thair trew conversion, finding in tham bathe a feilling of thair sine and apprehensioun of mercie ; and that nocht onlie in that opin sine wherin they ar tean,³ bot in far graitter covered sinnes committed against God, and knawin to him : And sa, to use this occasioun to win the saull throwlie to Chryst, be all diligence in doctrine and exhortation ; and namlie, of repentance, quhilk nocht being trewlie practised then, that place is abbusit, and the persone casten in graitter sin, and God mair heilie offendit for publict profanatioun and mockage.

¹ Overlooking, winking at.

² Cursing, using imprecations.

³ Taken.

" Dilapidatioun of Benefices, demitting of tham for favour or money, that they becom new Patronages without the advys of the Kirk, to the wrak thair of; and siclyk interchanging of Benefices be transactioun, and transporting of tham selves be that occasioun, without the knowlage of the Kirk, preceislie to be punished. Siclyk, setting of Takkis, without the consent of the Assemblie, be punished according to the Actes; and that the demission in favours, for money or urtherwise, to the effect above yrrytin, be punished as dilapidators.

Corruptiones in thair Persones and Lyfs.

" That all sic as ar light and wanton in behaviour, as in gorgeus and light apperrell, in speitche, corrupt communication, morologie,¹ aischrologie, entrapelie, using vean and profan companie, unlawfull gaming, as dancing, carting, dicing, and siclyk, nocht beseiming the gravitie of a Pastor, be scharplie and gravlie rebukit be the Presbyterie according to the degrie thair of; and continowing thairin, efter dew admonitioun, that sic be deprivit as sklanderus to the Gospell.

" That Ministers being fund swearers or banners, profaners of the Sabbath, drunkards, feghtars, guiltie of all thir, or anie of tham, be deposed *simpliciter*; and sic lyk leiars, detractors, flatterers, brekers of promise, brawlers, and quarrellars, efter admonitioun continowing thairin, incur the lyk punishment.

" That Ministers gevin to unlawfull and incompetent traidis and occupationnes for filthie gaine, as haulding of hostillaries,² taking of ockar besyd conscience³ and guid lawes, and bearing warldlie offices in noble and gentilmen's housses, merchandice, bying of victualles, and keiping of tham to the darthe,⁴ and all sic lyk warldlie occupationnes as may distract tham from thair charge, and that may be sklanderus to that pastorall calling, be admonished, and brought to the acknowlagment of thair sinnes, and if they continow thairin, to be deposit.

¹ Foolish divination.

² Public houses or inns.

³ Usury, contrary to conscience.

⁴ "Forestalling" and "regrating" markets.

"That Ministers nocht resident at thair flockes be deposit, according to the Actes of the Generall Assemblie and Lawes of the realme, utherwayes the burding to be leyed upon the Presbyteries, and they to be censured thairfor.

"That the Assemblie command all thair members, that nan of tham await on the Court, and effaires thairrof, without the advys and allowance of thair Presbyterie. *Item*, that they intend¹ na action civill without the said advys; and for remeading of the necessitie that sum Ministers hes to enter in pley of law,² that remead be cravit for summar and schort processses to be usit in Ministers' actiones.

"That Ministers tak speciall cair in using godlie exerceis in thair families, in teatching of thair wyffes, childring, and servands, in using ordinar prayers and reiding of Scriptures, in removing of offensive persones out of thair families, and sic lyk uther poincts of godlie conversatioun and guid exemple: And that they at the visitatioun of thair Kirks try the Ministers' families in thir poincts forsaid; and sic as ar fund negligent in thir poincts, efter dew admonitioun, salbe adjudgit unmeit to govern the hous of God, according to the rewl of the Apostle.

"That Ministers, in all companies, stryve to be spirituall and profitable, and to talk of things perteing to godlines, as namlie, of all sic as may streinthen in Chryst, instruct in thair calling, and of the meanes whow to have Chryst's Kingdome better establishit in Congregatiounes, and to knaw whow the Gospell florishethe in flockes, the hinderances and remeadies thairrof, &c., wharin and anent thair is manifauld corruptiounes bathe in our companeing with our selves and uthers. That the contraveinars herof be tried and scharplie rebukit.

"Finalie, If a Minister be fund to countenance, procure, or assist a publict offendar put at be his awin Minister, and to beir with him, as tho his awin Minister war over seveir upon him, he be rebukit," &c.

"FINIS."

¹ Intent, raise.

² Enter in law-pleas.

Thir Corruptiones and Remeads, being read in the Assemblie, was recommendit to the consideration of all the Breithring betwix God and thair conscience; and all war exhorted to prepar tham selves again the day following to the exercesie of the Word, fasting and prayer, and sa to the actioun of renewing the Covenant.

The day following, the hail Breithring war assemblit in the Lessar Kirk¹ of Edinbruche, tham alean,² without the peiple, whar a godlie, zelus father, Mr Jhone Davidstone, haid the doctrin and directioun of the actioun, being the mouthe of the rest in prayer. His doctrine was upon the 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46 verses of the xii. of Luc's Evangell; verie pleain, particular, and powerfull, in sic sort as the gravitie and motion of the man him self, with the mightie force of the Word, moved the hail Breithring exceidinglie. Efter the quhilk, all war directed to thair privat meditationes, confessioun, and prayer, a large space; efter the quhilk the forsaid mouthe maid publict confessioun and deprecation, during the quhilk tyme teares war shed abundantlie. Thairefter the Moderator, declaring the purpose and end of the actioun, as be the teares and countenance of the Breithring, unfceinyt sorow and humiliatioun was testified, sa he desyrit that be the lifting upe of thair handes they sould signifie the desyre and resolution quhilk they haid of amendiment of all bypast sinnes, in commissioun or omisioun, against God and dewtie, in thair office and persones, promising, be his grace, an earnest indeavour for the sam; and sa a entring of new againe in Covenant with thair God in Jesus Chryst, the grait Pastor of the saulles, and Mediator of the Covenant, &c. Efter the quhilk, prayer being maid be the Moderator, for obtaining of grace, and working of the Spreit for that effect, the blessing was pronuncit, and the actioun endit, quhilk lasted about the space of thrie houres and mair.

¹ Also called the Little Kirk and Mr Robert Bruce's Kirk, and latterly Haddo's Hold, or the New North Kirk.

² Alone.

THE COVENANT RENEWED IN THE SYNOD OF FFYF, 12TH MAY 1596.

In the fourt sessioun thairof, anent the making of a new Covenant betwix God and his Ministerie within this realme, ordeanit in the last Generall Assemblie to be done in everie Synodall throuthout the land, the present Assemblie of Fyff, apprehending the weghtines, tending ather to an effectuall reformatioun of all things amis (sa far as can ly in the waiknes of man) in the Pastors first, and syne in thair flockes, or then to involve all in a mair feirfull giltines and danger of horrible judgment, be sealling upe a new and maist grave testimonie and witnessing against all, thought it maist neidfull that all meanes sould be usit that might move and steir upe the hartes of the breithring to an earnest consideratioun and feilling of thair undewtifulnes and transgressionies in thair offices, families, and persones, to bring tham to a trew humiliatioun, sorrow, and greiff thairfor, to a plean confessioun of the sam in the presence of God, a cearfull seiking of mercie for Jesus Chryst's seak, an avowing and promising of amendiment in tyme to come, be the assistance and mair effectual working of the Spreit of Grace, and a vehement solisting of God be prayer for that effect. And sa causit first to reid in the publict audience of the Assemblie, distinctlie, the Articles of Reformatioun sett down in the last Generall Assemblie, the quhilks war ordeanit to be insert in the Buik of the Synod, and everie Presbyterie commandit to haiff the copie thairof in thair buiks, and to cause everie an of thair members to extract to tham selff a copie thairof for thair remembrance. Nixt, for preparatioun of the hartes, ordeanit the Pastor of the place, David Fergusone, to keipe his awin place and heure of doctrine the day following, and studie to fram his doctrin for the purpose; and be the vottes of the maist part, all maid chois of Mr David Blak to teatche the nixt day thairefter, to be keipit with preceise abstinence. Immediatlie efter the quhilk doctrine, the hail breithring sould convey in the place of the Assemblie for the solem renewing of the said Covenant; and, in the mean tyme, earnest exhortatioun was maid be the Mode-

rator to wey the mater and wark they war about, maist deiplie and earnestlie, with thair God, in thair conscience, with meditation of the forsaid poincts of Reformatioun, and remembrance of that curse upon sic as does the Lord's wark negligentlie and deceatfullie. Also to call to God earnestlie for the breithring apointed to deall in doctrine.

Sa, upon the 13 day of May, being Furisday,¹ efter the doctrin delyverit be Mr David Blak, upon the ground, the 13 chapter of Ezech., and last vers of the 5 Psalme, the quhilk was copius, powerfull, percing, and pertinent, the breithring of the Ministerie, and Commissionars of everie parochie present, haillelie and immediatlie convening in the place of the Synodall, the Moderator, for the better disposing of the harts, and exemple of ordourlie proceeding in the actioun, red the last chaptour of the Buik of Josua, wherin Josua, calling togidder the heades and rewlars of the peiple, recountes the benefites of God bestowit upon tham, and settes the said rewlars and heades of the peiple to advysment, Whidder they war resolvit and uprightlie meined to serve that God in uprightness and treuthe, utherwayes to leave af anie professioun of his service, and tak tham to idolatrie; and sa, efter divers demands, and answers gevin be the peiple, he settes down the Contract and Covenant in forme, and registers the sam in the Buik of the Law, and setts up a stan under an ake trie,² in a monument thair of for a memorandum in all tyme to come. The quhilk exemple and form was followed point be point. First, be commemoration of the benefites of God bestowit on the Kirk of Scotland in planting and garding the saming from the Castalians, Obenittes, Spaniarts, Bischope Balaam, and lait Conspiracie of the Papist Erles. The quhilk being endit, and a lytle begoun to be spokin of unthankfulnes and undewtifulnes in caring trewlie and earnestlie over that wark of God, and watching over the flockes of Chryst committed to the Pastors' charge, and over the quhilk the Lord haid sett tham sa lang with sic libertie and ease, the Lord

¹ Thursday.

² Sets up a stone under an oak tree.

steirit upe sic a motioun of hart, that all war forcit to fall down befor the Lord, with sobbes and teares in aboundance, everie man mightelie commovit with the affectionnes of thair conscience in the presence of thair God, in privat meditatioun, rypping out thair wayes, confessing and acknowlaging thair unworthines, and craving earnestlie grace for amendiment, and that a lang space.

Efter the quhilk, the hartes being sattelit, the Moderator, as comoun mouthe of all, at grait lainthe maid open confessioun of unthankfulnes, forgettfulnes, undewtifulnes, negligence, and caldnes, hardnes of hart, darknes, senslesnes, instabilitie, vanitie of mynd, stubburnes and rebellioun in will, foulnes and uncleinnes in affectionnes, undantoned feritie¹ in perturbationes, unsavorines and folie of speiche, and of conversatioun facioned efter the warld, easeliar and mair reddelie drawin efter the maners and custome thairof from God, then having force of holines and of the Spreit, in word and actioun, to draw the peiple from thair vean conversatioun to God, and the seiking of thair lyff and salvatioun: And, finalie, with trimbling and manie teares for the offence of sa guid and gratius a Lord and Father, misusing of sa grait and honourable a calling, and quakking for feir of sic a weght of wrethe hinging on for the blud of sa manie saulles lying on our heids, we all bitterlie weipit, and earnestlie sought for a blessing and grace to use the present occasioun of the grait mercie and lang-suffering of God grantit to us rightlie and fathfullie for amendiment.

Efter the quhilk confessioun, the Moderator, entering again to deall in doctrine upon the dialogisme or conference of Josua with the eldars and rewlars of the peiple; and first, insisting sum what upon the rejecting of the consent as a thing impossible to tham to serve God, wha was holie, angrie, and indling,² to mak the breithring try out thair awin sinceritie and upright meining of thair hart, he resolvit the dout of impossibilitie, and the greiff of experience of relapse, schowing that the graitest perfectioun we can attein unto in this lyff is to ken and feill our awin imperfectioun, and stryve

¹ Violence.² Jealous. The common form in which this word occurs in old Authors and Manuscripts is *eldnyng*, *elduring*, and *indilling*.

and labour against the saming in treuthe and uprightnes of hart; absteining from all things that may quenche the Spreit, and ceartull using of all that may steir upe the sam, sending all unto Chryst Jesus, the guid and gratius Pastor, and to his fulnes and perfectionoun.

Nixt, upon the thrid consent of the peiple, and reply of Josua, commanding them to cast away their idolles, the Moderator insisted earnestlie upon the casting away of our idolles; that is, all these things of this warld wharof we tak mikle thought, and wharin oftentimes we tak mair pean, and delytes mair nor in God his service, or our calling; schawing, that it was our part, in this Contract and Covenant, to give our selves haillelie to serve the Lord in treuthe, uprightnes, and fidelitie. And the part of God was to be our God, to keipe us from all evill, and provyde for us all things guid for us; the quhilk his part he wald, but dout,¹ fulfill aboundantlie, if we haid a cair of our part. But, alas! whill as forgetting our part, and leaving it undone, we tak on the part of God, caring for provision, defence and preservatioun of our selffs, we fall in infidelitie and distrust of him, yea and in proude idolatrie, placing our selves and moyens of this warld in the roum and dignitie of God Almightye! etc.

And sa, efter divers other poincts of doctrine, admonitiones, and exhortationes, for the purpose, be lifting upe of the hand, everie an testified befor God, and mutualie an to an uther, the sincere and earnest purpose of the hart to studie till amend and serve God better in tyme to come, bathe in their privat persones and in the office of that grait Ministerie of God's honour, and salvatioun of the peiple concredit to thame, etc.

And last, the Moderator spak upon these words, "You are witnesses this day against your selffs," etc., and anent the monument of the stean sett under the ake,² and the wraitting of the Covenant in the Buik of the Law, preissing to imprint and ingrave in the harts of the Breithring and his awin, the remembrance of this Covenant, that it sould nocht be forgot, and maid irrit,³ and of na effect,

¹ Without doubt.

² Stone set under the oak.

³ Null. Law Lat. *irritus*.

(quhilk was oftymes cast up to the peiple of Israell be the Prophetes thairefter,) declaring whow the Lord God haid our awin consciences to bear witnes against us, out of the quhilk the memoriall of this actioun sould nocht be deletit; he haid his angelles and all his creatours; he haid that sam place, yea the verie pillars of stean standing in that Kirk, lykas be thair awin consent this minut and soun of the hail actioun sould be insert and registrat in the Buik of the Synodall Assemblies, thair to remean for admonitioun, and remembrance during our tyme, and for exemple to the posteritie.

Therefter the Moderator, remembering of the defectioun mentioned soone efter the deathe of Josua, and the fathers and elders that haid sein the warks of God in their dayes, for preventing of the lyk defectioun, and fastning of this new Covenant the mair firm-lie in the hart, for that effect, of all the breithring of smaller age, requyrit certean fathers, godlie and zealus breithring thair present, to speak as they haid sein, hard and helpit to do in the grait wark of God, in planting and preservatioun of the Gospell and libertie of Chrystes Kingdome, trewlie and sincerlie within this land.

And sa David Fergusone, Pastor of Dunfermling, a reverend father, spak verie pleasandlie and confortablie of the beginning and succes of the Ministerie: Namlie, whow that a few number, viz. onlie sax, wharof he was an, sa mightelie went fordwart in the wark, but feir or cair of the warld, and prevalit, when ther was na name of stipend hard tell of; when the authoritie, bathe Ecclesiastik and Civill, opponit them selves, and skarslie a man of name and estimatioun to tak the cause in hand, etc. But now it was fallen to that, the feir or flatterie of men, cair of getting or lothnes of losing of stipend and moyen of lyff, haid weakned the harts of a multitud of Ministers, etc.: Joyning thairunto exhortatioun meit for the purpose.

Mr Jhone Davidsons, a zealus grave father, directed from the Generall Assemblie to visit our Synodall, followit, and spak verie movinglie and profitablie, saying, That as the fathers of the peiple of the Jewes, efter their retourn from Babylon, loking upon the building of the new repearit Temple, and comparing it with the

facioun of the auld that they haid sein, weipit bitterlie; even sa was he movit when he beheld the present estait of our Kirk, in the persones and conversatioun of the Ministerie and professours, and conferrit¹ the sam with the beginning that he haid sein, being sa unlyk in godlines, zeall, gravitie, love, and hartlines, stoutnes, cair, and peanfulnes, mightines and powar of doctrin, etc.; with earnest admonitiounes and grave exhortatiounes moving the breithring to indevour to find the fruicts of that dayes wark, etc. He meinit² also mikle the want of lerning in the Ministerie, having sa guid educatioun, and sa grait tyme and occasioun of letters and knowlage, that yit he could skarslie meit with an that could talk or reasone, in an exact and lerned maner, of hard places of Scripture or controversit questionnes; or that could schaw takens³ of reidding of Antient Doctors of the Kirk, or the Historie thair of, joyning the precept of the Apostle, *Attendite lectioni*, etc.

Mr Patrik Simsone, Minister of Sterling, being present with the said Mr Jhone, and joynit with him in commissioun from the Generall Assemblie, requyrit be the Moderator, spak verie halelie and weill anent a poinct of Reformatioun, viz., of the mouthes of the Ministers quhilk sould be the Oracle of God, whase lippes sould keipe knowlage, and at whase mouthes the Law of the Lord sould be sought as the Messingers of the Lord of Hostes, as sayes the Prophet. And yit to be sa comounlie and openlie defylit and abusit with foolishe, vean gesting, and unsavorie speitches and talk, evin at tables in open audience, schowing an unclein and unsanctifeit hart, cearles of the honour of God, and ædificatioun of his peiple.

Uther breithring also being requyrit in generall, as God gave it, and movit thair harts to continow that maist profitable and comfortable exerceise, for leaving of deipe stampe of the actioun in the harts of the breithring. Mr David Blak, an of the pastors of St Androis, spak of the dekey and falling abak of Relligioun, sinceritie, zeall, and uprichtnes quhilk he haid espyit, being yit bot a schollar in St Androis, be the default and warldlie and unspirituall behaviour of tham

¹ Compared, contrasted.² Bemoaned, lamented.³ Tokens.

that succedit in the Ministerie and rewling of the Universitie, unto these godlie and upright men that preceidit tham: That the greiff thair of haid bein grait in his hart during his abyding out of the countrey, except sa far as he haid hard of Mr Andro Melvin; and returning in the countrey he haid fund the sam falling to almaist a remediles miserie, and yit haid bein thrust in be God and his Kirk in that roun, and sa schawing his indevours wissit the concurrence of the breithring, and helpe of thair prayers; exhorting verie powerfullie everie an till attend upon thair awin charge in a new manner, according to the doctrin delyverit be the last Moderator, repeated againe be him selff that day, and now promisit and advowit solemly to be observit and pressit unto be all and everie an of the breithring in this present actioun, etc.

Mr Andro Melvill, Rector of the Universitie of St Androis, followit furthe the sam purpose, and insisting on the feir of defectioun, warnit the breithring of a lait experience of a grait waiknes and slyding away, when the holie discipline was persecut and sought to be overthrawn. Whow manie, for feir of the want of thair stipend onlie, war brought to a sort of denying of Jesus Chryst, be subscriyv- ing to the wicket Actes of Parliament in the yeir 1584, wharby the libertie of his throne and kingdome was intendit to be utterlie sub- verted. What sould be luiked for then gif the Spaiyards, wha haid leatlie takin Calis, fra quhilk in few houres they might easelie trans- port tham selves to this Yland, yea, in our awin Firthe, he sould essay our constancie with fyne and exquisit torments of thair Inqui- sitioun, upon the quhilk piece of service our excommunicat forfaultit Papist Erles war attending. Wherby he mightelie exhorted all the breithring to tak heid to tham selves, and fixt the doctrin quhilk they haid hard that day, and this present actioun and Covenant in thair memories, and till use fructfullie this guid occasioun of rest and libertie that God sa gratiuslie geves, to be inarmit and preparit against the day of tryall, quhilk was nocht far of.

Thir speitches endit, efter treating and finising of uther incident maters, earnest prayer was powred out be the Moderator for getting of grace to remember, practise, and pay the vowes thair maid, and

after hartlie thankgiffing for that memorable benefit of God, the Assemblie was dismissed about four efter noone, als full of spirituall joy in the saull as emptie of corporall fluid; everie brother, with exceiding grait gladnes, glorifeing God for that actioun above all uther that ever they haid bein partakers of: To whom onlie be all praise and honour, for ever. AMEN.

THE COVENANT RENEWIT IN THE PRESBYTERIE OF ST ANDROIS.

Upon the penult Furisday¹ of the monethe of July, 1596, the Covenant was renewit in the Presbyterie of St Androis be a verie frequent Assemblie of gentilmen and burgesses, prepared for the purpose befor be thair Ministers in everie parochie; wherin, as the Synod befor, sa the Presbyterie appointed me the comoun mouthe, keiping the form sett down befor, as neir as might be. The generall heides of the exhortatioun war these:

The Covenant of God is the contract, securitie, and warrand of all our weifear, maid with Adam efter his fall, renewit with Noe efter the flud, then with Abraham, etc.

This Covenant is brought to remembrance, and sa in a maner renewit as often as the Word is pretched, the Sacrament usit, or exerceis of fasting and publict repentance keipit.

Bot, in a speciall maner, it hes bein usit amangs the peiple of God efter a grait threatning and appeirance of manie plagges,² and grait danger for sinne and unthankfulnes, sic as hes bein espyed be the Seirs and Watchmen in this land, wha, thairfor, hes begoun at tham selves, in thair Generall [Assemblies] and Synods.

The maner thairof is, first: To try the brakes of the Covenant of God maid with us, in the privat persone of everie an, in thair families, in nibourhead, and in discharge of publict offices in Kirk and Comoun-weill: 2. In acknawlaging and confessing the sam with unfeinyt sorow and repentance: 3. In craving mercie for the

¹ The last Thursday but one.

² Plagues, judgments.

Mediator of this Covenant his seak, with trew fathe beleiving in him: And last, in taking earnest purpose, and making promise and vowes of amendiment, with a fathfull endeavour of keiping and pey-¹ing of the sam in all the lyff thairefter.

The Covenants of Ezra and Nehemia, whilk they maid with the peiple efter thair retourn from Babylone, quhilk with fasting and prayer war maid, wryttin, sealed, and sworn, was read distinctlie, and conform to these heads, doctrin, and exhortatioun usit; and efter meditatioun in privat and publict prayer, be haulding upe of hands, thir promises and vowes war maid in speciall, for testefeing of a trew conversioun and change of mynd.

1. The exerceise of reiding the Word with prayer and thanks-geving, and catecheising of childring and servants, to be usit and done be the father of everie familie, ordinarlie, within the sam.

2. The resisting of all enemies of Relligioun, without fear or favour of anie persone.

3. The planting of the Ministerie of God's honour, and salvatioun of the peiple within thair Paroches, bestowing cost thairon to thair abilitie, and seiking the Kirk dewties to be recoverit for that effect.

4. To tak ordour with the pure,² that thair be nocht vagabund beggars.

5. To keipe better publict Conventiones, and discharge offices and comoun dewties for the weill of Kirk and Countrey.

And last, to tak cair of comoun warks, namlie of the standing and reparing of brigges.³

Sa, efter prayer to God for grace to perform, lest unto all the formar transgressionnes the giltines of horrible perjurie war adjoyned, to hasten the extremitie of judgment, etc. the action endit.

Efter the quhilk, the speciall Barrones and gentilmen conveynit with us in the place whar the Presbyteries sittes, whar, be conference, understanding that ther was grait word and appeirance of Invasioun of Spaineards, and that the excommunicat forfaulted Pa-

¹ Paying, fulfilling.

² Poor.

³ Bridges.

pist Erles war com ham quietlie, the gentilmen offerit tham selves verie fraclie¹ for resistance, and named thair capteanes of horsmen and futmen, and sett down an ordour anent thair armour and provision; wharof it was thought guid the King sould be advertised; to whom, for that effect, the Lard of Reiras and I war directed, bot war nocht takin weill withe; and ther was an uther degrie of decay of my Court, for the King haid determined to bring ham the Papist Lords again, and lyked of nan that wald nocht wag as the bus waggit.²

A SOUM OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE COVENANT RENEWIT IN THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, AND NAMLIE, WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF FYFF, AND IN THE CONGREGATION OF KILRUNNY, THE FYFT OF SEPT. 1596: SET DOWN IN MANER OF CONFERENCE FOR THE USE OF THE PEIPLE.

"*M.* THOW heires that God hes movit the Watchmen and fathfull Pastours of the Kirk of Scotland and this Province of Fyff, beginning at tham selves, to call and labour to move all to a tryall of the brak of his Covenant, and an exerceise of Renewing of the saming: What does thow think and esteim of the Covenant of God?

"*P.* I think and esteim of the Covenant of God as the onlie evident, right, securitie, and warrand of all my weillfare.

"*M.*³ Wharfor sa?

"*P.* Because it is the contract, band, and obligatioun wharbe God binds and obleses him selff to be my loving God and Father in Chryst, sa as thairby I am sure to want na guid thing, and to be keipit from all evill.

"*M.* What war thy ceas and esteat if thow wanted this warrand?

"*P.* Even that maist miserable esteat of Nature, without God, without Chryst, a chylde of wrathe, alian from the comoun-weill of his peiple, under the slaverie of the devill and sinne, and, finalie, a faggot of helles-fyre.

¹ Freely, heartily.

² None that would not wag as the bush wagged.

³ The remainder of the letters *M.* and *P.* are supplied to the Questions by the *Minister*, and the Answers by his *Peuple*.

"*M.* What is, then, the substance and tennour of this Covenant ?

"*P.* God obleses him selff, of his frie grace, to be my God and Father in his Sonne Jesus Chryst; and I with the rest ar bound to be his servants and childring.

"*M.* Wha hes moyenned¹ this Contract and Covenant, and knit it upe betwix God and thie and his peiple ?

"*P.* The onlie Mediator and Reconcyilar, my Lord Jesus Chryst, and that be his awin pretius blood, and bitter passioun and deathe.

"*M.* And what is the conditioun on thy part, wharby thow may be kend his servand and chyld in Chryst ?

"*P.* Gif I embrace this promise of God's grace and benefeit of the blissed Covenant (purchassit be Jesus Chryst) be a trew fathe, and testifie the sam in love, halines, and obedience.

"*M.* I perceave, then, the Contract is mutuall; sa that God is nocht bund to thie, gif conditioun be nocht keipit on thy part. What, then, gif thow hes broken ? Is nocht the Contract dissolved, and maid to thie of na stead, force, or effect ?

"*P.* Yes, in verie deid, gif God sould enter in judgment with us, and deall streatlíe and preceislie according to his justice and right.

"*M.* And what sould then becom of thie ?

"*P.* Even to be cast away in the former miserie and condemnatoun with the devilles; and that sa mikle the mair, as we ar becom fathles and mean-sworn,² brakers of his halie Mutuall Band and Covenant.

"*M.* Thow, then, tell me, hes thow enterit in this Covenant with God; and hes thow compromitted with him according to the tennour of this Contract and Mutuall Band ?

"*P.* Yes, indeid I have, or then I war maist miserable.

"*M.* When enterit thow thairin ?

"*P.* Even when I was first baptised, and hes professit the sam ay sen I cam to anie wit or knowlage, be giffing confessioun of my fathe, and using of the Holie Supper.

¹ Who has been the means of procuring.

² Perjured, man-sworn.

"*M.* And hes God keipit his part to thie ?

"*P.* Blessed be his holie nam and heavenlie Majestie, for he hes bein alwayes to mie a gratius God and bountifull loving Father.

"*M.* But what hes bein thy part againe to him ?

"*P.* Alas ! I have broken and transgressed, maist unthankfullie, sinning searlie¹ at all tymes against my guid God, my nibour, and my awin saull. And sa, if he sould deall with me in judgment according to his right, I can have na securitie or warrand of weill-fear to produce, bot man close my mouthe, and confes I ly maist miserablie under danger of God's wrathe, and all his pleaggies and judgments, temporall and eternall.

"*M.* Now, what if God might be moved to forget and remit all bygians,² and enter in a new Covenant and Contract with thie, wald thow nocht be glade to embrase sic grace ?

"*P.* O ! with all my hart ; bot whow sall that be ?

"*M.* Giff thow earnestlie repent thy sinnes bypast, tak up a fec-full³ purpose of amendiment, with a fathful promise and vow of the sam unto the Lord by his grace for the tyme to come, and by assurit fathe cleive to the Lord Jesus, in whom is all holines and perfectioun.

"*P.* That is daylie cravit of us be the Word of God, use of the Holie Sacraments, and oftentimes in the exerceise of fasting and publict repentance.

"*M.* Treuthe, indeid ; for the Covenant and purpose is all an and the sam : Bot because daylie we brak, it haid neid daylie to be renewed to us ; and namlie, efter a lang sparing and large bountifulnes of God, and manie foull sinnes and grait unthankfulnes, tending to an utter defectioun from God, and procuring of the extremitie of his wrathe and judgments. When God vouchaffes,⁴ then, as he maist mercifullie does at this tyme, to call us, be his servants the Watchmen, to the Renewing of the Covenant, that he may yit defer his plagges, and continow his mercifull guidnes toward us, sould we nocht be glaid thair of, and indeavour our selves with all cair and reverence to meit the Lord, offering mercie and grace ?

¹ Sorely.

² Bygonies.

³ Strong, powerful.

⁴ Vouchsafes.

"*P.* Now the God of mercie grant we may sa do, and work in my hart in speciall be his Halie Spreit for that effect. Bot, alas! I have sett my selff oftentimes to repent, and promised and advowit amendiment with my selff, bot could never attein to the performance; and, thairfor, I feir I sall do na uther thing at this tyme, bot involve my selff in a new giltines of men-swearing and brak of promise.

"*M.* Giff¹ thy hart be upright and trew toward God, and if thou find anie earnest desyre of amendiment, with a laboring, stryving, and preassing thairunto, whowbeit thou can nocht attein to that thou wald, feir nocht; for God requyres nocht perfectioun of us in this lyff, quhilk he knawes we can never attein unto, because he will nocht giff it. Wha is the God of ordour that hes apointed a tyme of feghting and a tyme of triumphing, a tyme of sojourning and wandring, and a tyme of habitatioun and dwelling, and, finalie, a tyme of warsling² and suffering heir, to mak us conform to Chryst, that we may heirefter ring with him in glorie? Therfor, heir we have to strive against our awin imperfectiones, and against his enemies and ours, the devill, the warld, and fleche; and be trew fathe to cleive to that perfectioun of his Sone, the Lord Jesus Chryst, our Saviour, in whom he is weill appeasit, and of whase perfectioun he will accept of as ours; for Chryst is the Cautionar³ of the Covenant and Contract for us, and sa principall deatter,⁴ taking the sam upon him to satisfie in all whar we ar unable. Onlie remember this; whar Chryst dwelles in the hart be fathe, thair is a continuall grouthe and progres in knowlage and halines during this lyff, quhilk hes the awin⁵ perfectioun in the lyff to come, fulfilled even in us be the quicning Spreit of Chryst, working then without all contradicitioun, impediment, or stay.⁶

"*P.* O! that effrayes⁷ me maist of all; for, alas! I find na grouthe or going fordwart, bot rather a decay and bak-turning.⁸

"*M.* Surlye, if thou be the chyld of God, thou mon⁹ grow upe

¹ If.² Contending, wrestling.³ Surety, security.⁴ Debtor.⁵ Its own proper.⁶ Hindrance.⁷ Affrights, alarms.⁸ Relapsing.⁹ Must.

to the just stature of a perfytt man in Chryst, and be lyk the pleas-
and plants in the Lord's ortecheard. Bot tak heid, I pray thie,
whom God sa disposes and moves, (for ther is nocht monie of that
sort !) as it is weill done to think na thing of thy selff, sa be war
till extenuat the grace of God and working of his Spreit, quhilk
sould be alwayes acknawlagit with thankfull hartes to his praise :
For it is in that point with the godlie in spirituall giftes, as with
the warldlings in temporall, that an thinks litle or na thing of that
quhilk they have atteined to and gotten, bot ay wald be at fordar
and mair ; and sa does that uther. Also, ther wilbe a decey, in ap-
peirance, for a farder grouthe ; and a grouthe quhilk will nocht be
perceavit, unles it be narrowlie loked unto, even as in the tries and
plantes in the wintar seaseone ; quhilk, nochtwithstanding the cauld
frost and snaw, having the rutt¹ fast in the ground, is ever growing
ather within or without the erde, in hight, graitnes, or sum way ;
yea, and that quhilk is farder in the Elect of God, comounlie ther
is graitter grouthe and going fordwart when they think and feilles
leist, and leist when they feill and think maist ; for, but² question,
then ar we best in God's sight and estimatioun when we ar warst
in our awin, and contrair : And feilling is na sure rewell of fathe,
for we will feill mair a whittell in our fingar nor the helthe of the haill
body.³ Yet, for treuthe, the mair feilling of the soares of sinne,
the graitter missoure⁴ of grace ; for it is by grace that we can feill
sinne sair.⁵ Assure thy selff, thairfor, of a guid cais if thow find that
feilling, yea, or the sorow for want thairfor, with desyre to have it,
for that is nocht of fleche and bluid, bot of the Spreit of grace, quhilk
can work bathe the will and deid in that missour that he knawes
meit for thie ; with the quhilk be content.

"P. Weill, Sir, I thank God with all my hart, of your comfort-
able instructioun, wherby I am brought to be weill resolvit to in-
devour my selff in this actioun, beseikand⁶ yow also to schaw me
whow I sall proceed thairinto.

¹ Root. ² Without. ³ For we will much more feel a whitlow in our finger
than the health of the whole body. ⁴ Measure. ⁵ Sore, painful. ⁶ Beseeching.

"*M.* First, be preparatioun traveling cearfullie to try and find out thy sinnes and transgressioness of God's holie law : Nixt, with an feilling dispositioun in remorse and sorow for the sinnes committed, craving mercie and forgiffness thairof, and with a fectfull¹ purpose promising be his grace till² amend : Thridlie, in traveling for fruit efter the actioun, be marking these sinnes in speciall quhilk maist greives thy conscience, or thow knawes to be offensive to the godlie, and indevoring but³ delay to mend the sam.

"Anent all the quhilk thow wilbe at lynthe instructed in the doctrine quhilk God of mercie sall witchaff⁴ to grant for that effect ; and, thairfor, pray earnestlie to God to grant giftes to his servants, of knowlage, feilling, and utterance to delyver ; and to thy self, and the rest of the peiple, grace to receave the sam with light of understanding, and cair to practise.

"Now, the gratius Lord, for Jesus Chryst his Sonnes seak, be thair Holie Spreit of grace, mot⁵ work it in us all. AMEN."

Thus was our peiple catechised the hail monethe of August, and upon the first Sabbath of September, the Covenant, with the Holie Communion, celebrat, to thair grait confort.

And as efter all our fastes, (quhilk I haiff pretermitted in this storie, because I have wraitten a speciall Treatise thairof,) sa efter this exerceise we wanted nocht a remarkable effect. For if God haid nocht extraordinarlie provydit for Scotland victualles,⁶ (coming in sic store and abundance out of all uther countries as never was sein in this land befor, sa that, be the æstimatioun of the customers and men of best judgment, for everie mouthe that was in Scotland ther cam in at least a boll of victuall,) thowsandes haid died for houngar ; for nochtwithstanding of the infinit number of bolls of victuall that cam ham from uther partes, all the hervest quarter that yeir, the meall gave aught, nyne, and ten pound the boll, and the malt alleavin and twoll, and in the Southe and Wast partes manie died.

¹ Powerful.² To.³ Without.⁴ Vouchsafe.⁵ Now, may the

gracious Lord, &c.

⁶ There was a prospect of great famine that winter.

I dar nocht bot mark it, whowbeit against my will, that the Ministers of Edinbruche and Kirk thair of neglected and omitted this actioun of the Covenant, with the effect of a feirfull desolation, gif we dar judge !¹

About the end of August, the King calles a Conventioun of the Esteattes to Falkland, even of sic as be favour and frindschipe war neirest joyned with the excommunicat, forfaitit Papist Erls ; whar Alexander Setoun, President of the Sessioun, a Papist, maid a prepared harang, wharby to perswade the King and Esteattes to call hame these Erls, lest, lyk Coriolanus the Roman, or Themistocles the Athenian, they sould joyne with the enemies, and creat an unresistable danger to the estate of the countrey ! Divers of the Ministerie war wraitten for to that Conventioun, bot sic as the King knew he could mak.² But Mr Andro, understanding thair of, and being a Commissionar apointed be the Generall Assemblie to sie to the dangers of the Kirk at all ocasioness, cam thither, and presented him self with the rest : Whom, when the King saw, he send to him, asking of his earand, and willing him to go hame ; bot he said he haid a commissioun first to discharge, in God's nam and the Kirk's, to the King and Esteattes.

When the King and Esteattes war sett down, the King causes the Ministers to be callit upon be nam and lettin in, leaving out Mr Andro, who cam in with the formaist. The King finding fault with him that came ther uncalled, he answers, " Sir, I have a calling to com heir be Chryst Jesus the King, and his Kirk, wha hes speciall entres in this tourn,³ and against quhilks directlie this Conventioun is mett ; charging yow and your Esteattes in his nam, and of his Kirk, that yie favour nocht his enemies whom he hattes, nor go nocht about to call hame and mak citiciners, these that has traterouslie sought to betrey thair citie and native countrey to the crewall Spainyard, with the overthrow of Chryst's Kingdome, fra the quhilk they have bein thairfor maist justlie cutt of as rotten members ;

¹ If we may dare to judge.

² Use as tools.

³ Interest in this business.

certifeing, if they sould do in the contrair, they sould feill the dint of the wrathe of that King and his Esteattes!" And, braking on in particular upon the graittest part of that Conventioun, with plane speitche and mightie force of zeall, he challengit tham of hiche treasone bathe against Chryst and the King, against the Kirk and countrey of Scotland, in that purpose and counsall they war about. Bot the King interrupted him, and commanded him to go out, whase command he obeyit, thanking God that they haid knawin his mynd, and gottin his message dischargit. Mr David Lindsay, Mr James Nicolson, Mr Patrik Galloway, and I, that remeanit and hard all, and spak in the contrar, adhering in effect to that quhilk Mr Andro haid uttered, bot in sic sort, that the King, with fear¹ promises, satisfeit over easelie and removit. In end, the Esteattes concludes, that the King and Kirk being satisfeit, it war best to call tham hame, and that his Majestie sould heir thair offerres for that effect.

In the monethe of September following, the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, with divers uther guid breithring, conveyit in Cowper; and, understanding certeanlie of the retourn of the Papist Lords, and of thair plattes,² purposes, and bissines, with thair favorars and associattes, thought guid to direct certean of the breithring thair present to the King, being in Falkland, to mein³ the mater to him, and crave a discharge of his dewtie, namlie, that seing without his licence and knowlage, as was certefeit to the Kirk be his Majestie's Ministers, these rebelles was com ham, and war about to mak insurrectioun in the countrey, ther dangerous indevours sould be maturlie prevented be his Majestie his autoritie and powar. Also, that ther sould be a meitting again of the breithring, in Edinbruche, the monethe of October following.

Sa, Mrs Andro Melvill, Patrik Galloway, James Nicolsone, and I, cam to Falkland, whar we fand the King verie quyet. The rest leyed⁴ upon me to be speaker, alleaging I could propone the mater substantiuslie, and in a myld and smothe maner, quhilk the King

¹ Fair.² Plots.³ Make complaint.⁴ Laid the burden.

lyked best of. And, entering in the Cabinet with the King alan, I schew his Majestie, That the Commissionars of the Generall Assemblie, with certean uther breithring ordeanit to watche for the weill of the Kirk in sa dangerous a tym, haid convenit at Cowper. At the quhilk word the King interrupts me, and crabbottie¹ quarrels our meitting, alleaging it was without warrand and seditius, making our selves and the countrey to conceave feir whar thair was na cause. To the quhilk, I beginning to reply, in my maner, Mr Andro doucht nocht² abyd it, bot brak af upon the King in sa zealus, powerfull, and unresistable a maner, that whowbeit³ the King used his autoritie in maist crabbit and colerik maner, yit Mr Andro bure him down, and outtered the Commission as from the mightie God, calling the King bot "God's sillie vassall;" and, taking him be the sleive, sayes this in effect, throw mikle hat reasoning and manie interruptiones: "Sir, we will humblie reverence your Majestie alwayes, namlie in publict, but sen we have this occasioun to be with your Majestie in privat, and the treuthe is, yie ar brought in extream danger bathe of your lyff and croun, and with yow the countrey and Kirk of Christ is lyk to wrak, for nocht telling yow the treuthe, and giffen of yow a fathfull counsall, we mon³ discharge our dewtie thairin, or els be trators bathe to Christ and yow! And, thairfor, Sir, as divers tymes befor, sa now again, I mon tell yow, thair is twa Kings and twa Kingdomes in Scotland. Thair is Chryst Jesus the King, and his kingdome the Kirk, whase subject King James the Saxt is, and of whase kingdome nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member! And they whome Chryst hes callit and commandit to watch over his Kirk, and governe his spirituall kingdome, hes sufficient powar of him, and autoritie sa to do, bathe togidder and severalie; the quhilk na Christian King nor Prince sould controll and discharge, but fortife and assist, utherwayes nocht fathfull subjects nor members of Chryst. And, Sir, when yie war in your swadling-cloutes, Chryst Jesus rang⁴ friely in this land in spyt of all his enemies, and his Officers and Ministers convenit and assemblit for the rewling and weill of his Kirk, quhilk was ever for your weil-

¹ Angrily, testily.² Could not.³ Must.⁴ Reigned.

fear, defence, and preservatioun also, when thir sam enemies was seiking your destructioun and cutting af. And, in sa doing, be thair Assemblies and meittings sen syne continowalie hes bein terrible to these enemies, and maist stedable¹ for yow. And will yie now, when thair is mair nor² extream necessitie of the continowance and fathfull discharge of that dewtie, drawin to your awin destructioun be a devillische and maist pernitiu counsell, begin to hinder and dishart³ Chryst's servants, and your best and maist faithfull subjects, quarrelling tham for thair conveying and cair that they haiff of thair dewtie to Chryst and yow, when yie sould rather commend and countinace tham, as the godlie Kings and guid Emperours did? As to the wisdom of your counsell, quhilk I call devillishe and pernitius, it is this, that yie mon be servit with all sort of men to come to your purpose and grandour, Jew and Gentill, Papist and Protestant; and because the Ministers and Protestants in Scotland is over stark,⁴ and controlles the King, they mon be waikned and brought low,⁵ be steiring upe a partie to tham, and the King being æquall and indifferent, bathe salbe fean to flie to him; sa sall he be weill servit. Bot, Sir, gif God's wesdome be the onlie trew wisdom, this will prove mere and mad folie, for his curse can bot light upon it; sa that, in seiking of bathe, yie sall los bathe, wharas in cleiving uprightlie to God, his trew servants sould be your sure freinds, and he sould compell the rest, counterfitlie and leinglie,⁶ to giff over tham selves and serve yow, as he did to David!"

Thir things, and manie uther, was spoken be occasioun in conference with grait libertie and vehemence, till at last the King sat-telit and dimitted⁷ us pleasandlie, with manie attestationes that he knew nocht of the Papist Lords' ham-coming till they war in the countrey; and whowbeit the Esteates haid licenced tham to mak thair offers, they sould nocht be receaved till they tham selves war furthe of the countrey again; and offer what they wald, they sould gett na grace at his hand till they satisfeid the Kirk.

¹ Serviceable.² More than.³ Dishearten.⁴ Strong, powerful.⁵ Must be weakened and brought low.⁶ Lyingly.⁷ Dismissed.

The 20 of October the Commissionars of the Generall Assemblie, and from divers Synodalls, convened at Edinbruche, the haill proceidings wharof from that day untill the xvij. day of December, that accursed wrakfull day to the Kirk and Comoun-weill of Scotland, because they ar at lainthe, and particularlie, in forme of Ephe-merids, sett down be me in a buik be tham selff, for contracting of this volum, I mon remit the reidar thairto. Only heir I will insert the Offers quhilk the Erle of Hountlie maid to the Synod of Murray, be his Lady, the 19 day of the forsaid monethe of October, that it may be knawin whow trew the Lord hes ever bein in his promises to his Kirk, in making thair and his enemies leinglie yeild, and to giff ower tham selves unto his David.

THE OFFERS PRESENTED BE THE LADY HENRIET STEWART, COUNTES OF HOUNTLY, HAVING COMMISSION FROM HIR HOUSBAND IN HIS ABSENCE, TO THE SYNODALL ASSEMBLIE OF THE PRESBYTERIES WITHIN THE DIOICSE OF MURRAY, CONVENIT IN ELGEN THE XIX. DAY OF OCTOBER, 1596.

“ In the first heiring, and having intelligence that your Wisdomes heir convenit, and remanent of the Kirk of this realm, hes bein in tyme past, and as yit remanes evill informit, be suggestioun of mis-reportes of my Lord and spouse, that he sould be a trafectar¹ with strangers sen his departing out of this realme, in prejudice of the Relligioun presentlie professit in the sam, and of the esteat of his native countrey, I, as having commissioun in his nam, offers, nocht onlie to mak his purgatioun of the sinister misreportes of him above wrytten, bot also that he sall abyd and submit him selff to all lawfull tryall thairanent; and, if he beis fund culpable and giltie thairrof, to suffer and underly the censours of your Wisdomes, King, and Counsall.

“ Secondlie, I offer that he sall mak sufficient securitie nather till

¹ That he is reputed to have been a trafficker.

attempt, assist, nor devyse anie thing in tymes cumming, tending to the alteratioun or inversioun of the Relligioun presentlie professit within this realme.

“Thridlie, Offers that he sall banishe and eject from his companie and societie all Jesuites, Seminarie Preist, excommunicat persones, and notorius knawin Papists.

“Feirdlie, He is and salbe content to intercomoun and confer with quhatsumever of the Ministerie your Wisdomes and haill Kirk sall apoint ; and in cais he may be movit be guid arguments and reasons, and thairby persuadit in his conscience to leave the Relligioun presentlie profest be him, he sall embrace the Relligioun profest within this realme.

“Fyftlie, Offeres that he sall ressave an ordinar Minister in his companie, for his better instructioun, on his awin charges ; and in mean tyme sall keipe guid ordour.

“Sextlie, For better assurance of his guid meining, he is content till assist your discipline in punishing of vyce.

“Sevintlie, In consideratioun of the premisses, I will desyre your Wisdomes to giff and concead a reasonable tyme wharin my Lord my spouse may be resolved in his conscience ; and that it will pleis your Wisdomes to schaw him that favour to absolve him fra the proces of excommunicatioun ; and that he may have, be your mediatioun and interceiding, his Majestie's favour and oversight, to remean within the countrey untroublit during the tyme of the Conference.

“And for your perswasioun to the premisses, I offer, in his name, that he sall mak sufficient securitie for observing of the Articles above wrettin ; and in testimonie of his guid intentiones, sall assist the planting of Ministers in the Kirks desolat within his bounds.

(*Thus subscrivit,*) “HENRETT COUNTESS OF HUNTLYE.”

Thir Articles war presentit be the Barones underwryten : Sir Walter Ogilbie of Findlater, Knight, Robert Innes of that Ilk, Sir Jhone Gordown of Pitlurg, Knight, Wilyeam Sutherland of Duffes, Jhone Urquhart of Tullo, Tutor of Crommertie.

Upon thir offeres, the Papist Erles war suffered to bruik the countrey, yea, ther awin housses and levings, till the monethe of May thairefter; when, at the Generall Assemblie hauldin at Don-die, they war absolved: Quhilk was easie to effectuat, the Ministerie of St Androis and Edinbruche, and sa of the hail Southe, being ather defaced or drawin to the King's devotioun; and the Ministerie of the Northe haillelie, be fear and flatterie, maid for the purpose. And thus our undewtifulnes did lose again that grait victorie quhilk God haid conquiest ower these enemies; the quhilk I pray his mercie they be nocht maid just skurges to the Ministerie in speciall thairfor.

Immediatlíe efter that xvij. day of December, the Ministers of Edinbruche, Maisters Robert Bruce, James Balfour, Walter Balcanquall, and Wilyeam Watstone, war nocht onlie counsallit, bot earnestlie urgít be thair flok to flie. Twa of the quhilk, Mr Robert and Walter, past Southe, in England. The uther twa cam Northe ower to Fyff, whar they war attendit upon, and receavit in a hous quhilk the Lord haid preparit for the confort of his servants. Ther, under the winges of God's providence, they reposit, and ther thair host penned the Apologie of thair cause, following:—

A DECLARATION OF THE JUST CAUSES QUHILK MOVED THE MINISTERS OF EDINBRUCHE TO WITHDRAW THAM SELVES FROM THAIR FLOKES, FOR A SEASONE, IN THE MONETH OF DECEMBER, 1596; GIVEING PLACE TO THE WRATHE OF THE PRINCE, TO RESERVE THAM SELVES FOR A BETTER TYME.

“ THERE hes bein in all ages, is, and salbe, (1.) Sum proffessit malitius enemies to the Lord Jesus and his servands: (2.) Sum that wald profes frindschipe to tham, bot the love of this warld sa owerrewles thair affectionnes, that when the frindschipe of the an and the uther comes in comparisone, sa that of necessitie they man for-seak an of tham, lyk the ritche man in the Gospell, with heavines of hart they depart from Chryst: (3.) Sum weak and infirm breith-

ring that haid neid nocht onlie of righteas informatioun in the treuthe, bot also of continuall confort : (4.) And sum wyse and strong favo- rars, wha leakes na thing bot intelligence of the proceedings of maters that they may meantein the caus, and stand thairunto against whatsoever calummie or sklander.

“Concerning the first, wharof we mein nocht to tyne tyme in wass- ing of sic Moores,¹ nor, contrar to the command of our Maister, to cast our halie things to doogges, and sett our peirles befor sic swyne, seiking to find and save sic whom the Lord will have lost and de- stroyed ; and, thairfor, in his righteas judgments, giffes tham over to thair awin fantasies to forge out stumbling-blokes, and cast tham in thair awin way to fall on, and go from evill to warse, deceaving and being deceavit, to thair awin just condemnatioun.

“As for the second sort, it war bot lost labour also to preas to perswad tham of the treuthe ; for it feareth² with tham as with an sa affectionat to his frind that he meines never to speir³ his quarrell, what ever be done, what ever be said, right or wrang, trew or fals, rashlie or advysedlie ; sa it tend anie wayes to the hurt or hinder- ance of his affectionat frind, it is all an ; yea, he is sa ather blindit or willfullie addicted to his fond frindschipe, that the least appeir- ance of the hurt thairof makes right, treuthe, wesdome, advysitnes in his conceat to alter bathe name and nature, and be esteimed and giffen out for contrarie vyces : Sa ar they to the frindschipe of thair gear and this world.

“Our onlie cear is of the twa rankes that remeanes, rightlie till informe that an of the just and wechtie causses moving us to with- draw our selves from our charges, and leave af the exerceise of our ministerie amangs our flocks of our awin accord for a season, (quhilk utherwayes we sould have bein compelled to do against our willes, to the los of our lives and graitte disadvantage of the co- moun cause, as evidentlie will appeir in our Apologie efter follow- ing,) and togidder heirwithall to subjoyne sum comfort also for the confirmatioun of that uther ; beseikand tham bathe to accept of the

¹ Washing of such Blackamoors ; labour in vain. ² Fareth. ³ Ask, inquire into.

saming rightlie and lovinglie, in the tender bowelles of the Lord Jesus.

“ Thair is twa things, as we understand, blawin abroad of us for our discredit, and the hurt of the cause of Jesus Chryst. An, that we have left our flockes, and sa becom, of pastors, hyrlings. The uther, that we ar fled from the lawes, and sa of guid subjects becom rebelles and outlawes. The quhilk crymes ar befor God and man, in all Reformit Kirks and Comoun-weilles, sa hynous and odious, that, giff we haid nocht the testimonie of a guid conscience in the contrare to uphold us befor God, and evident reasones to cleir our selves befor the reasonable and godlie, we wald esteim our selves of all men maist miserable.

“ For, as concerning the flight from our flockes, we have the command of our Maister bidding us, being persecut in a citie to flie to an uther; and, conform to the saming his awin exemple, and the exemple of his apostles, namlie St Paull, who, being let down in a basket by night over the walles of Damascus, eschaped, and the manifold flightes of manie reverend fathers of the Antient Kirk, and namlie of the godlie and zealus Athanasius, weill thought of and approvin of all Christianitie. And wha, I pray yow, speaking in conscience, will or can deny our persecutioun? Having sic bludie bodwarts¹ coming to us from Court continuallie, sic schoring² to pluk us out of our pulpites, sic bitter and malitius realling³ against us at tables, and in conference of counsallours, sic blasphemus traducing in publick, be proclamatiounes at mercat crosses with sound of trumpet; whar, befor that ever we war callit or hard, we war convict of seditioun and treasone, and proclaimed to be sic personnes, namlie, in that maist malitius and blasphemus proclamatioun, wharin was deducit the proces led against Mr David Blak, in the self maist informall, impius, and injust, and we involvit in the giltines of the sam allecagit crymes, to be maid part-takers of the sam punishment at the pleasur and will of the Prince; wha, God wattes⁴ and

¹ Messages, in fiery haste. Literally, this word denotes the stick or fiery-cross, which of old was sent from place to place to call the people to defend the country, &c.

² Threatening, menacing.

³ Railing.

⁴ Wots, knows.

man bathe, what guid will he hathe uttered towards us and all our Maister's servands, sen the receaving of our deidlie enemies the Papist Erles in his favour: For the quhilk, we humblie pray the Lord to be mercifull to the King, and giff him repentance in tyme, befor that grait Judge of the warld sett his Justice Court, enter in reductioun of that proces, and pronunce a feirfull sentence in his contrar, to be execut in wrathe without delay. And at last, a maist craftelie devysit tumult and insurrectioun motiouned be our enemies, and moved be the simple populace; the quhilk nochtwithstanding, be our diligence and autoritie, it was asswagit without anie violence or tort¹ done to anie man, praisit be God. Yit, forsuthe, the sam is sa hilie aggreagit,² that it is giffen out to the warld for a conspiracie of us and our associattes, of hie treassone against his Majestie's persone and counsallours, and maid to be a sufficient cause, wharfore we sould be apprehendit as seditius trators, committed to warde, and condemnit to schamfull executioun.

"For what better could we have luiked for at the hands of our accursed enemies, the excommunicat Papist Erles, whase speciall frinds and favourars hes nocht onlie alienat the hart of his Majestie from us, bot sa incensit the saming in hatred and wrathe against us, steired up be our frie rebuiking of sinne, and fathfull admonitiounes giffen from tyme to tyme to his Majestie for eschewing of the feirfull judgments of God, that his awin mouthe hes brathed out bludie sentences and domes against us. The quhilk thing, when our breithring, the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, haid espyed and considderit, befor thair departing of the town, forcit to leave us be that streat³ charge and proclamatioun, they gaiff us thair speciall advys and counsall, that in cais our Magistrates and flock wald nocht preserve us saiff from violent invasioun and craftie dint of deidlie malice, in that ceas we sould withdraw our selfs for a tyme, and reserve our selfs to a better occasioun, when we might serve our God and his peiple be our ministrie in saftie and freidome. And it is of veritie, that sa far was our bailyes and counsall from

¹ Wrong, hurt. Fr. *tort*.² Aggravated.³ Stringent, strict.

that abilitie or dewtie, that they war fean, for feir of thair awin esteattes, to receave a commissioun to tak and apprehend us, and put us in streat warde and sure firmance, to be producit at the pleasour of our enemies, and maid a prey to the recent anger of an incensait King, whose wrathe is as the roaring of a lyoun, or as a boare rubbit of hir whelpes,¹ as speakes the Scripture. The quhilk they haid nocht fealit to have effectuat indeid, giff God of his guid Providence haid nocht carit for our preservatioun, and movit the haill breithring of our Presbyterie, and uthers out of divers partes of the countrey, being ther for the tyme, togidder with our awin Sessioun and divers of our flock better affected, to counsell us cairfullie and maist urgentlie to move us to eschew the present furie and danger, and keipe our selves to the fore² for the wark of God at a better tyme. Giff then it be lawfull, comendable, and honest, for the stouttest to feir whar thair is just cause, and flie to that end they may fecht againe, namlie to Pastors wher thair is na danger of infecting of thair flockes with heresie, and evident danger intendit against thair lyves: And if the premisses and mikle mair, cleirlie knawin to the consciences of all men of cair and sight in proceidings of maters, be trew, it is manifest that sic was the stat in deid of us and our flockes. Thair is nan of sound and sanotefied judgment that will blam us as mercenarie desertours of our charges, bot rather praise God, wha hes of his gratius guidnes wotchaffed³ sa to direct and protect us, to be reserved in hope of farder employment in the wark of his glorie and grace in Jesus Chryst.

“ Now to the uther heid of our accusatioun, twitching our fleing from the lawes, we stand justlie to the flat denying thair of. For we flie nocht from the law, bot from the wrathe and evill dispositioun of the Judge that may easelie pervert the law; or rather from the partie wha intends, be pretence of law, to be revengit upon us, as upon thair noysome enemies, wha, as they alleage, hes nocht cessit, be our just rebuking of thair sinnes, quhilk they term seditius sermones, to disgrace tham befor the peiple, and thairby at last hes

¹ A bear robbed of her whelps, Prov. xvii. 12.

² In life.

³ Vouchsafed.

concitat¹ the saming against tham to bereave tham of thair lyves and honors. Giff it be nocht sa, we appeill thair conscience befor God ; and if it be sa, as it is indeid, have we nocht reasone to declyne the judgment of our partie, and flie from a craftie and crewall intendit revenge of a deidlie and malitius enemye ?

“ For, to be plean, in this our necessar Apologie, we ar forcit unto for defence of the æstimatioun of our office, and creadit of our calling amangs the peiple of God, nocht we onlie, bot all men of guid and æquitable judgment, thinks it all an² to be judgit be the present Counsall as be the Erle of Hountlie, in whase favour the advancment of the specialles of tham, speak what they will, hes bein procurit, and for whase effect thair credit is continowed and increassit at Court. And we ar sure nan will esteim us foolishe or fleyed³ for fleing from the judgment of that crewall trator, as from the Burning of Dunibirsall or Spanishe Inquisitioun.

“ And as to the King's Majestie, we flie nocht from his lawfull authoritie, but from his unlawfull wrathe, nocht from his evill naturall, (quhilk of it selff is maist clement,) but from his prejudicat dispositioun and evill opinioun conceavit against us be the maist subtill and importune subjection⁴ of craftie serpentes, from whase pernitiis poisonne our continuall prayer to God is, that his Majestie may be saiff, and nocht thairby sleane in body and saull. For as to his Majestie's Judicatorie, we mein nocht to declyne it in this cause ; nather, whowbeit we have be all law maist just cause of appellatioun thairfra, being sa inormlie greivit and hurt be all his proceedings against us, yit we mein nocht simplie till appeal from his Hienes' throne to anie Cæsars, Kings, or Princes, in the erthe, but a *Rege male consulto et affecto ad melius*. Sa that whow soone soever it pleis God to delyver him from the companie and counsall of wicked Papists and malitius Atheists, and turn his hart and affection to the trew professours of the right Christian Relligioun and fathfull Ministers thair of, wha, without all questioun, is, hes bein, and will prove his onlie sure frinds and guid subjects, we sall,

Stirred up.

² Equal, the same thing.³ Afraid, terrified.⁴ Injection,

in all readines and humilitie, present our selves befor his Majestie, sitt dow,¹ fauld our feit,² and tholl an assyse³ of anie honest men of whatsumever rank, for all art, part, read,⁴ or counsall of that insurreccioun, or anie uther interpryse at anie tyme attempted against his Majestie.

“Wharfor, deir breithring, we earnestlie exhort yow, in the bowelles of our comoun Saviour, to conceave of our cause and doings aright; and nocht onlie to satisfie your selff with the æquit-able reasones and motives thairof, wherby all occasioun of offence and mislyking may easilie be removed, bot also of Christian dewtie and love to play the advocat for us at the hands of uthers, namlie, of sic as may have acces to deal with his Majestie for the treuthe, and move his Hienes to a better dispositioun.

“For, as concerning our dewtie to his Majestie, the God of heavin, the cearsar⁵ of all hartes, bears us witnes, that we injoy a guid and quyet conscience thairanent, quhilk accuses us nocht of omitting anie thing we oucht⁶ of dewtie to his Majestie, nor committing of anie thing against his Majestie's persone or estate, unles it have bein be the exces of affectioun or zeall, fearing for his danger, and caring for his weill and preservatioun against all sort of trators: That lyk as his Majestie haid guid pruff and experience thairof against Boduall, ~~from~~ whase attempts he could never be frie till we put to our hand; and after redding⁷ of his Majestie divers tymes out of his claues,⁸ at last maid him fean, being excommunicat, till abandone the countrey; sa he might have the sam against these graitter and mair dangerus trators, the said Bodualles confederattes at Menmure, the excommunicat Papist Erles, wha seikes maist subtiltie to betrey his Majesty in body, saull, kingdom, lyff, temporall and everlasting. Gif heirin we have offendit, let the King pardone and forgiff us.

“But, alas! wald to God the wrang war⁹ done to us onlie, the pure servants of the Lord Jesus, and nocht directlie to him selff,

¹ Dolefully.² Bend our knees.³ Submit to a jury.⁴ Knowledge, *rede*.⁵ Searcher.⁶ Owed.⁷ Extricating, delivering.⁸ Clutches.

whase croun and kingdome is violentlie invadit; withe whome the King enterit in actioun for redding of merches,¹ and in the mean tyme maid irruptioun violentlie within the middes of his undouted possessioun, and under conference of things alleagit questionable betwix his erthlie kingdome and the Kirk, the spirituall kingdome of Chryst Jesus, satt down in judgment, tuk decreit to him selff, and therby acclaimed the speciall priviledges of the croun of Chryst, to wit, the judicator of the preatching of the Word, and conceaving of prayer, and annulling of the constitutionnes and commissionnes of his Supream Assemblie within this realme. Giff anie gentilman of the countrey haid bein sa used with his nibour in questioun of his mertches, wald he nocht be thought to have just occasioun of compleant, yea, just cause and quarrell to war² his gear,³ land, him selff, and all that wald tak his part for redres thair of? And yit sall nocht the Lord Jesus be hard⁴ to complean? Sall his servants be declarit trators, because they mein⁵ his cause? Sall his officers be rebelles, because they warn his frinds to cognos upon the wrang and sie it repearit?⁶ And sall sic oppressioun and tyrannie pas unrepressit? Sall he wha has received the hail lands and costes of the erthe for a just possessioun, yea, all powar in heavin and in erd from the grait Creator thair of, suffer him selff to be thus handlit and usit? Sall the Pagan Turk, the Cam of Tartarie, the Muscovit and Sophie of Pers, defend thair bounds and conquiest kingdomes? Sall bastard Christiannes, sic as Prester Jhone in Afric, beir impyre, and Philipe of Spean mak the warld agast, inlarging his domionies from the West to Est, and in the mean tyme the Hair⁷ of the Warld, the King of Glorie, be oppressed, spulied, and dishonored be a litle erthlie Regulus? Na, alas! wald to God the King knew what he war doing, and tuik upe rightlie, and considerit the fathfull, loving, and cearfull hartes of the Ministrie, wha sies the hat wrathe of Jehova kindlet against him, for helping the wicked, and favoring of thame whom God haittes, and of the Lord Jesus, King

¹ Literally, a process at law for settling and adjusting of *marches* or boundaries.

² Expend.

³ Wealth.

⁴ Heard.

⁵ Head.

⁶ Repaired.

⁷ Heir.

of kinges, for invadding of his possessiounes, and usurping upon his spirituall croun and kingdome : And, thairfor, mon¹ cry the alarme, and giff the warning in tyme to leave af and repent, befor he be consumit thairby, and maid a feirfull spectacle to the rewlars of the erde !

“ Alas ! his conscience, and the conscience of all, may weill ken² it is nather ritches, honour, land, nor rent, nor na warldlie particular³ that we crave, as does his courtiours, wha goes about to cla and counsall him, nocht according to his weilfeare, bot efter his affectioun and present dangerus dispositioun ; and sa, when they have gotten that quhilk they sought, they cair na mair for him, bot wald have another in his place, of whom they might get mair, to serve thair insatiable appetit : Bot our cair onlie is lest he offend his God, and sa be left destitut of his grace and protectioun, and fall in the hands of sic as seiks his wrak and destructioun. And yit, forsuthe, they ar the frinds, and we the enemies ! they the wyse and discreit, and we the inordinat foolles ! they the savears of his honour and privileges of his croun, and we the empearers⁴ thairof, and sic as seikes to disgrace him befor the peiple ! But, alas ! wald to God his Majestie saw thair plattes, and knew thair devysses ! He wald fle from tham as from the sword, or consumption of raging fyre ; for, as Solomon speakes of the harlot, ‘ Honnie is in ther mouthe, but the sting of bitter deathe is in thair end.’ Let the King persew us as he pleases, we sall nocht ceas to requyt him with earnest prayer to our God to preserve his grace from the miserable experience quhilk sall cleir this cause to the haill warld, gif he brak nocht af his sines be repentance, and turn to God in tyme.

“ Now, in end, we turn to yow, our deir afflicted flok, for the saftie of whase saulles we hope, be God’s grace, to giff our lyves, giff neid beis ; whowbeit we esteim the present los of your gear of lytle aveall, in respect of that service quhilk yit in this lyff we may do to Chryst and his Kirk. What ever be the doings of men in

¹ Must.² Know.³ Interest, advantage.⁴ Impairers.

this your visitatioun, luik yie to the hand of God, justlie working that quhilk sa often be our mouthes he forwarned yow of, for the contempt of his Gospell, and fruitles passing ower the lang summer and seasonable herveist thair of. He hes moved the folie of a mad and confusit multitude to minister to your troublers the occasioun of your present perplexitie, yea, of this heavie plag upon your hartes, bodies, and geare; to the spilling,¹ be appeirance, of a guid cause, and moving of the wrathe of an erdlie prince against yow. Bot we beseik yow thairin to perceave and tak up the angrie face and crabbit² countenance of the Lord of Hostes, wha hes the coupe of his vengeance, mixit with mercie and justice, in his hand, to propyne³ to this hail land, and everie member thair of, in what rank and degrie so ever they be. Of the quhilk the servants of his ar in hous, and yie in speciall, hes gottin the breird to drink. Drink it patientlie, for whowbeit it be bitter, it is a halsome potioun of repentance propynit to yow in mercie; bot be assurit for your confort, when that hathe wrought weill upon yow and us for our humiliatioun and amendiment, the thik dreg of that read wyne of the Lord's vengeance is preparit in wrathefull justice for the enemies to drink, the quhilk they sall drink, nill they will they,⁴ to thair horrible destructioun and confusioun everlasting! AMEN."

At the beginning of Januar, the King, with grait forces of the Homes, Cares,⁵ and Southland gentell men, cam to Edinbruche, quhilk pat the town in grait feir, and thair was keipit a frequent⁶ Conventioun of Esteates, wharin war maid manie strange and seveir actes, the tytles whar of followes:—

Imprimis, Thrie actes of Counsall⁷ confirmed be thair autoritie: an, finding the uproare at Edinbruche the xvij. of December to be hichest treason, and the authors and partakers, with thair favorars, to be trators in the hichest degrie: An uther, discharging the Ministers' Stipends that wald nocht subscribe a Band, acknowlaging

¹ Spoiling.² Incensed.³ Present as a gift.⁴ In spite of them.⁵ Carrs, Karrs.⁶ Numerously attended, crowded.⁷ Privy Council.

the King to be onlie Judge in maters of treassone, or uther civill and criminall causses, committed be preatching, prayer, or what way so ever: The thrid, ordeaning all provests and bailyes, shireffes, stewarts, and uthers of authoritie, that sould happen to be present at anie sklanderus speitches of his Majestie, in pulpit or utherwayes, to stay tham from anie farder proceeding, tak and apprehend, keipe and detein tham, till they sould understand his Hienes' pleasure anent thair offence.

Item, Ther past an act with thir, finding his Majestie to have powar to charge and discharge a Minister to teatche at anie tyme or place, as he sould think convenient.

Item, Ane act discharging all Generall Synodall Assemblies and Presbyteries to be keipit at anie tyme heirefter within the brouch of Edinbruche; and the Presbyterie of Edinbruche to sitt in Musselbruche or Dalkethe.

Item, Ane act ordeaning the Ministers' houses in Edinbruche to be appropriat in tyme coming to his Hienes' use, be reasone of the treasonable and seditius complottes, ther devysit at sindrie tymes be the formar inhabitantes; and thairwithall the Nather Counsell-hous, for that it was sum tymes employed to be a gard-hous, to be a Chacquer-hous in all tymes coming.

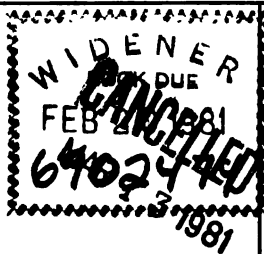
Item, Ther was a form of Band to be subscriyvit be the provest and bailyes of Edinbruche, and thairefter to be presented to the remanent Magistrates within Brouches, bearing a maist streat aithe of fidelitie to his Majestie, and oblesing tham never to suffer anie Minister blasphem his Majestie, his Counsell and Esteattes, unap-prehendit, under the pean of perjurie against the hail thrie persones of the Godheid; and under a grait pecuniall soun in cais of failyie.

Item, The Town of Edinbruche bund never to admit thair former Ministers to teatche again within the town, without his Majestie's consent; never to chuse anie uther, in thair place, without his Majestie's allowance; siklyk never to chuse a Magistrat without his Majestie's approbatioun; and the present Magistrats to dimit and resing thair offices ower in his Hienes' hands, to the intent he may, with advys of Counsell, elect sic uthers as he pleases. And

Not imperfect. Vol. 2 begins
with p. 385.

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14

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